The Outlook

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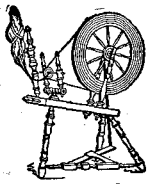

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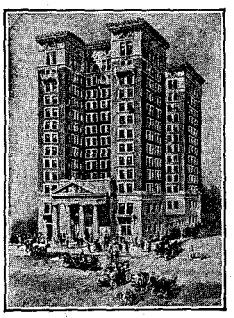

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1906

❀

Railway Rate Regulation in the Senate

The Senate Committee has reported the Hepburn-Dolliver Railway Rate Regulation Bill, as heretofore explained in our columns, without amendment. This may mean, as some Washington correspondents appear to think, that there is a majority for that bill as it stands; it more probably means that a majority in the Senate wish to debate the bill, and any amendments to it, before the public, and not in secret session of the Committee. This is wise. We judge that there is no serious opposition in the Senate to a bill incorporating the two fundamental principles on which the President has laid stress: (1) That the Commission shall have power to fix rates; (2) that the rate fixed shall go into effect at once, and not wait until the Commission, by judicial proceedings, can secure a decision from the courts. But, as we explained in The Outlook of February 17, the friends of railway rate regulation both in and out of Congress are divided in opinion, not on the question as to whether an appeal can be taken from the decision of the Inter-State Commerce Commission—for the Constitutional right to take such an appeal cannot be taken away by Act of Congress—but on the question whether that right should be explicitly recognized in the Act, and the proceedings in such appeal defined. Senator Knox has now introduced a bill already foreshadowed by The Outlook, which prescribes that an appeal may be taken to the Circuit Court of the United States; that from the decision of the Circuit Court appeal can be taken only directly to the Supreme Court, and that such appeal to the Supreme Court shall not act as a stay of proceedings. The proposed amendment further provides that—

> No order of the Commission reducing a rate shall be set aside or suspended by an interlocutory decree of the court without requiring a deposit of the excess charge *or sufficient bond* to secure to the parties entitled thereto the repayment, if the Commission's order is sustained, of all moneys received by the carrier in excess of the rate fixed by the Commission.

The attempt of certain partisan journals to make the public regard this as an attack on the President's policy is without foundation. The President has said nothing, publicly or officially, to indicate whether he is in favor of or opposed to this amendment, and there is in it apparently nothing inconsistent with the principles on which he has insisted. If the words "or sufficient bond," which we have italicized, were omitted, so that in order to delay the enforcement of the Commission's decision it would be necessary for the appealing railway to pay into the court the difference between the rate prescribed by the Commission and the rate maintained by the railway, we are inclined to believe that Senator Knox's amendment would expedite rather than delay the ultimate result. The Outlook is inclined to favor the Knox provision.

❀

The Pure Food Bill

The almost unanimous vote (63 to 4) by which the Pure Food Bill last week passed the Senate, uncrippled by serious amendments, shows that the sentiment of the country has made itself felt in Congress. The opposition to such a measure has all along been latent and dilatory; the attacks have been upon specific clauses rather than upon the broad principles involved; yet for some fifteen years efforts to carry through a National law protecting the whole people from injurious and fraudulent practices have failed. The bill now goes to the House of Representatives and should be pressed energetically to a vote; that it will be defeated on such a vote is most

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improbable, but that it may be delayed and obstructed unless the press and the people urge Congress to action is only too likely. Great praise is due to the managers of the campaign of education lately carried on all over the country, and especially to such organizations as the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Consumers' League, which have treated the question as one of vital importance to all homes, and have taught graphically and by physical exhibits the shocking extent to which adulteration and misstatement are carried with both foods and drugs. It is true that many States have each a pure food law, but these are of varying efficiency and they can only punish offenses committed wholly in a State. The Heyburn bill which has just passed the Senate makes it a misdemeanor, under penalty of fine or imprisonment or both, to manufacture or sell adulterated or misbranded foods, drugs, medicines, or liquors in the District of Columbia, the Territories, and the insular possessions of the United States, and prohibits the shipment of such goods from one State to another or to a foreign country. Thus it would become illegal to ship or receive such goods in unbroken packages sent from one State to another, which can now be done with impunity, as the State laws do not then apply. It is not true, as has been widely asserted, that the bill would put arbitrary power in the hands of the Department of Agriculture. On this point Mr. Heyburn in the final debate said: "This bill fixes no standard upon anything; it authorizes no officer to fix any standard. It provides that the courts, and the courts alone, may determine whether or not an article is contraband under the provisions of this act." The operation in actual practice would be that if the Department of Agriculture through its Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry should find that the law was violated, it would report the facts to the proper United States District Attorney, who would take action in a Federal court, and only after the court had found an accused person guilty would the article in question be publicly denounced or exposed. In brief, the bill undertakes two distinct objects, one being to prevent the sale of poisonous or injurious foods or drugs, the other to compel manufacturers to tell the truth about their products. Senator Heyburn has quoted a prominent physician as saying that not less than 200,000, perhaps 350,000, children lost their lives every year as the result of impure or misbranded drugs. If this estimate is only half-way correct, it would justify a far more drastic measure than that now before the lower House of Congress, which has been well defined as a bill to promote common honesty in the sale of foods, drugs, medicines, and liquors.

❀

The Canal Report

The decision of the Administration in favor of a lock canal at Panama was in a measure forecast by The Outlook in its issue of December 2, 1905. The two reports from the board of consulting engineers were submitted to the Canal Commission, and the Canal Commission with practical unanimity, all the members except Rear-Admiral Endicott uniting, recommended the adoption of the lock plan. The grounds for their recommendation are thus summarized by themselves:

> From the foregoing it appears that the canal proposed by the minority of the board of consulting engineers can be built in half the time and at little more than half the cost of the canal proposed by the majority of the board, and that when completed it will be a better canal, for the following reasons:
>
> It provides greater safety for ships and less danger of interruption to traffic by reason of its wider and deeper channels.
>
> It provides quicker passage across the Isthmus for large ships or a large traffic.
>
> It is in much less danger of damage to itself or of delays to ships from the flood waters of the Chagres and other streams.
>
> Its cost of operation and maintenance, including fixed charges, will be less by some two million dollars or more per annum.
>
> It can be enlarged hereafter much more easily and cheaply than can a sea-level canal.
>
> Its military defense can be effected with as little, or perhaps less, difficulty than the sea-level canal.

This recommendation has been approved by the Secretary of War and by the President of the United States, and unless it is overruled by Congress, which is highly improbable, the Canal will be built with locks. The reader should remember that, while a majority of the board of consulting engineers recom-

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mended the sea-level canal, by a vote of eight to five, the question was not, when presented to them, a new one; and a majority of all the engineers, French and American, who have studied this subject, and reported upon it previously, are opposed to the sea-level and in favor of the lock canal. So that, while there is a real and important difference of opinion, on the whole it must be said that the weight of engineering judgment is in favor of the plan recommended by the Administration. The history which justifies this statement our readers will find in The Outlook of December 2, referred to above.

❀

The Coal-Carrying Decision of the Supreme Court

The Inter-State Commerce Commission against the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway and the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, decided by the Supreme Court on the 19th of February, is the first cause instituted under the Elkins Act of 1903 and is now finally determined. The opinion is of special interest in view of pending legislation on the subject of inter-State commerce and the determined efforts of the Government to break up the practices denounced by existing laws. In the proceeding against the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway *et al.*, the Government challenged the right of an inter-State carrier to perform a contract to sell and deliver merchandise (coal) whenever the price to be received by the railway is inadequate to cover its actual outlay, plus the published freight rates, upon the ground that the actual result would be discrimination and failure to collect the published tariff, in violation of the Inter-State Commerce Law. The railway companies maintained broadly that, when acting in good faith, they had, as dealers, the right to make contracts at a fixed price for sale and delivery extending over a series of years and then go into the market, buy the merchandise, and deliver it at destination, notwithstanding what they received therefor might not be sufficient to yield them a *net* sum equal to the published freight rate, according to which shippers generally were charged. The position of the Government was sustained and the contention of the roads denied in a powerful and sweeping opinion delivered by Mr. Justice White, and the way now seems clear to enjoin carriers from resorting to arrangements or devices whereby, in effect, although indirectly, they may cut rates or practice discrimination. The opinion is an emphatic announcement of a fixed determination by the Court to construe liberally the inter-State commerce acts with the express purpose "to compel the carrier as a public agent to give equal treatment to all," and to refrain from those things which conflict with its duty to the public as declared by Congress, and, further, not to permit the doing by indirection of things unlawful if directly done. The Court deliberately laid aside consideration of other grounds upon which determination of the cause might have been founded, and entered upon a discussion of the broad underlying questions and principles, with the apparent purpose clearly to settle the law and announce its hostility to all those practices which contribute, directly or indirectly, to the evils which Congress intended to denounce. The result is far-reaching, and will be of great assistance to the Government in its efforts to compel carriers to recognize their duty to the public and confine themselves to the legitimate business of transporting for all on terms just and equal. The inter-State commerce acts prohibit the taking by a carrier of compensation *greater* than that specified in the published tariff as clearly as they do accepting *less* than required by the same. Since a carrier may not, therefore, as the net result of transactions as a dealer, make more or take less than the freight rate without violating the law, obviously its opportunities for dealing cannot be very extensive. Discussion of the principles involved will be found on another page.

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The Insurance Committee's Report

The New York Insurance Investigating Committee, after nearly two months of continuous work since the close of its public sessions, made its report to the Legislature last week. The Committee, with Senator

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William W. Armstrong as Chairman and Mr. Charles E. Hughes as counsel, began its public hearings on September 6, 1905, and held fifty-seven sessions before the end of the year. It collected an enormous mass of valuable testimony concerning conditions in the life insurance companies in New York State. The report is a volume of three hundred pages, containing a comprehensive résumé of the testimony given at the hearings and the Committee's recommendations for remedial legislation. These recommendations cover the entire field of life insurance activity with great thoroughness; they deal with the organization and control of life insurance companies, investments, political contributions and lobbying, the regulation of expenditures, the ascertainment and distribution of surplus, publicity of accounting, and other more technical details. The Committee would permit the formation of either stock or mutual forms of insurance companies; it would allow the organization of purely mutual companies without capital stock, a form of company which under the present law can be created only by special enactment; it would permit the directors of a stock corporation to give its policy-holders the right to vote for directors, and would allow the conversion of stock corporations into purely mutual companies if the parties in interest so desire. In the case of mutual companies the Committee recommends provisions which shall give the policy-holders the most ample opportunities to participate in the election of trustees. It would cancel all existing proxies, provide that all future proxies shall be valid for only two months preceding any given election, that lists of policy-holders shall be made accessible by the company, that nominations of candidates may be made by the administration, or by groups of one hundred policy-holders, but that such nominations must be made in the first case four months before the election and in the second case three months, the nominations not to be changed except in case of death or disability. The company must send to each policy-holder a list of the nominations of the administration with the names of persons authorized to receive proxies to vote for such ticket; and, when all the nominations have been made, an official ballot containing the names of all candidates. The Committee would provide that the terms of office of existing directors shall expire on November 15 next, on the ground that present boards have been elected without the participation of any considerable number of policy-holders. Such a provision would give the policy-holders an immediate opportunity to take an active part in the selection of new officials, if they so desire. On the important question of investments the Committee recommends that investment in the stock of any corporation be prohibited, as well as in bonds secured to the extent of more than one-third by the hypothecation of corporate stocks. All such stocks and bonds now held by the companies must be disposed of within five years from the end of this year. No loans shall be made on stocks or on this class of bonds. The Committee would also forbid all syndicate participations or transactions for purchase and sale on joint account, and would provide that no officer or director shall be pecuniarily interested in any way in any purchase, sale, or loan made by his company. The Committee recommends the passage of an unequivocal and drastic measure forbidding contributions by insurance corporations for political purposes, and making an official in any way responsible for such a contribution guilty of a misdemeanor. The pernicious activity of insurance companies in the endeavor to influence and control legislation the Committee would eliminate by a provision similar to that in the Massachusetts law. Every person employed to promote or oppose the passage of any legislative measure must file with the Secretary of State a statement showing on whose behalf he is working, and the matter with which he is concerned. The report of the Committee still further recommends legislation providing that every insurance corporation also must file with the same official, within two months of the adjournment of the Legislature, a statement showing in detail all expenses incurred in connection with legislation at the last session.

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Further Recommendations

The Committee does not believe it advisable that the Legislature should attempt to prescribe the expenditures of life insurance companies for the purpose of eliminating extravagance in management. It finds that the most wasteful expense lies in the amount paid for new business. To control this source of extravagance it is recommended that the amount of new business which a company may write be limited in the case of companies having more than a billion dollars of insurance in force to $150,000,000 a year, and in the case of smaller companies to a certain prescribed percentage of outstanding business. Companies having less than $50,000,000 of insurance in force shall not be limited. Such limitation would, in the opinion of the Committee, do away in great part with the excessive rivalry between companies which has resulted in extravagant commissions, supplemented by liberal bonuses and prizes, the maintenance of unprofitable foreign branches, and lavish expenditures in many directions for the purpose of inciting agents to their utmost endeavor. In addition to the limitation of the amount of new business that may be written, it is recommended that the amounts that may be expended in obtaining new business should be limited in accordance with a standard which is too technical for consideration in such a brief statement as can be given here. The practice of giving rebates on premiums is now stringently forbidden by law. A further amendment is recommended, however, providing that a person receiving a rebate shall be equally guilty with the one giving it. It is the opinion of the Committee that deferred dividend policies should be prohibited, and that dividends should be distributed annually, to be applied either in reductions of premiums or in purchase of additional insurance or to be paid in cash at the option of the insured. No change should be made under existing contracts, but all policies issued in the future should be of the annual dividend type. In order that the companies may have the most complete protection against fluctuations in the values of their securities and unforeseen demands, they should be permitted to accumulate and retain a reasonable contingent fund in addition to their legal reserve, the amount of such fund to be prescribed by law in proportion to the net value of the companies' outstanding policies. The Committee is of the opinion that mutual companies and stock companies transacting business on the mutual plan should be forbidden from writing non-participating policies. The Committee favors a provision for standard forms of policies for each of the ordinary sorts of life insurance. Any company should be privileged, however, to issue policies of any other kind, provided they have been approved by the Superintendent of Insurance. In such case the Superintendent should establish a standard form for that type of insurance which all companies would be free to use. Perhaps the most important recommendation of the Committee is that with regard to publicity and State supervision. It would provide for the fullest and most definite reports to the Superintendent of Insurance of all the financial transactions of an insurance company, in a form to be prescribed by the department. The Committee includes in its recommendations a number of categories under which such reports should be made in order to afford the most complete publicity to all of the activities of the insurance companies.

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New Subways in New York

As The Outlook pointed out last week, there are two bills before the New York Legislature regarding the new subways which are to be built under the direction of the Rapid Transit Commission. These are known as the Elsberg Bill and the City Club Bill. Both of them seem to us to be defective in certain particulars, and the Legislature would, in our opinion, be serving the best interests of the city if it postponed action without passing either of the bills in their present form until it can be convinced as to what are the real public interests involved. There are certain principles behind the question of city transportation which The Outlook has often pointed out before, but which ought

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to be repeated at this crisis. 1. The representatives of the people are under no circumstances to surrender the ultimate control of the highways—whether subways, surface ways, or elevated ways—to private corporations; and they are by every legal means to endeavor to re-acquire that control in those cases in which it has been lost. For example, the Legislature might refuse to give a franchise to any corporation to operate a subway if it now has a permanent franchise to operate a surface or elevated way, except on condition of the surrender, for a consideration, of the present franchise. 2. When the public has possession of a highway or highways, it should intrust the administration to a small body of men with large powers. There are three perils to municipal ownership. They come from honest conservatives educated in the school of individualism; from selfish interests, sometimes but not always corrupt, which wish to get control of the streets for private property; and from incompetents (generally radicals) who have never been able to manage their own business and so suppose that they can manage the business of a great city. To guard against this threefold peril we need for the control of the streets a small body of men who are able, honest, public-spirited, and cautious. Our present Rapid Transit Commission appears to The Outlook to be too cautious, but it possesses the other requisite qualities. 3. Given such a body of men, it should not be allowed to bind future generations, and therefore should not be allowed to grant a franchise or make a contract for a period of more than, say, thirty-five years. But, with this and perhaps some other analogous limitations, it should be given a free hand. As far as possible, it should be a stable and non-political body. 4. The distinction between ownership and operation should always be kept in mind, because the public ought to get and can get for public ownership and private operation the support of men who would at present prefer private ownership to public operation. These principles appear to us to be fundamental, and are as applicable to St. Louis and Chicago as to New York. It is in accordance with these principles that we object to the City Club Bill, because it permits perpetuity of franchise and allows the Rapid Transit Commission to bind future generations by its contracts; and that we object to the Elsberg Bill, because it is not clear whether its instructions to the Rapid Transit Commission are permissive or mandatory, and therefore it is not unreasonably suspected of attempting to bring about public operation by indirect methods.

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Making Spoils of the Children

Two bills have been introduced into the New York Legislature by Mr. Tompkins, of the Assembly, which ought to arouse the protests of the press as they certainly would the protests of the parents if the nature and effect of these bills were generally understood. Under the present law the twenty-six district superintendents are appointed upon the nomination of the City Superintendent and his associates—that is, the expert officials who are charged with the supervision of the educational system are charged with the duty of nominating their assistants. This right of nomination one of Mr. Tompkins's bills takes from them, leaving the Superintendent and his associates without any voice in the selection of their own assistants, on whose loyalty the Superintendent must necessarily depend. We can conceive no argument for this change, and no reason for it except a desire to give the Board of Education unrestricted appointing power for political purposes. At present the teachers are selected by a board of examiners consisting of the Superintendent and four persons appointed by the Board of Education on the nomination of the Superintendent, and their terms expire in successive years, so that the examiners cannot well become the instrument of a faction. Mr. Tompkins's bill gives the appointment of this board of examiners to the Board of Education without qualification. The effect of this bill is to deprive the Superintendent of all real power in the selection of the teachers or even the determination of the standards for their qualification, and its effect if not its

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object can only be to put the appointment of the teachers into the hands of a non-expert body which may easily be made a partisan political body. Like the judiciary, the public school system of the United States must at all hazards be defended against partisan politics. Its value depends as much upon its non-political as upon its non-sectarian character. Mr. Tompkins's bills appear like an attempt to make political spoils of the public schools of New York City. The people have put into the care of the State the training of their children; they have thus reposed in the State a most sacred trust. To use this function of public education for the purpose of furthering any interest except that of the children is to commit a betrayal of trust. If the Superintendent of Schools is not competent, he should be removed; but no personal hostility to him can justify taking from the non-political executive head of the school system powers which belong to his office and which are indispensable to his successful discharge of his duties, and giving them to a body whose functions are essentially legislative, and whose constitution and the method of whose appointment are such as to afford no guarantee against its use of its powers for political or personal ends.

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The Fight Against Race-Track Gambling

After eleven years of torpid toleration of an iniquitous statute legalizing race-track gambling in defiance of the ground law of the State forbidding it, the conscience of the people of New York has at length been pricked by the enormous scandal of it into an effort to abolish it. The State Constitution, as amended in 1894, contains these words:

> Nor shall any lottery, or the sale of lottery tickets, pool-selling, book-making, or any other kind of gambling hereafter be authorized or allowed within this State, and the Legislature shall pass appropriate laws to prevent offenses against any of the provisions of this section.

Nevertheless, the Legislature of 1895 enacted the so-called Percy-Gray bill, whose ostentatious veneering of prohibitions against gambling concealed devices for its protection. The Court of Appeals has ruled that, as distinguished from a prize or a premium, a "stake" is a money bet. But this word "stake" was tacked by the bill to the "purses, prizes, and premiums" to be raced for, and thus the law stands now. Under the control of the racing commission which the Legislature established, at whose head is, or was, Mr. August Belmont, eight licensed race-tracks enjoy a monopoly in gambling of the rankest kind, in whose profits the agricultural (county fair) associations share. In 1904 the receipts of the licensees were $3,805,126, of which the associations drew five per cent. The other side of the story is told by the Rev. T. F. Chambers, for eleven years pastor of the First Baptist Church in Saratoga:

> In former years we were wont to welcome a fair proportion of respectable visitors . . . now they scarcely count. The month [of August] here stands for lawlessness and vice. Our streets are full of vile men, and women equally vile or viler, and we are the prey of the unclean and the degraded. . . . Many of the young men of the village have fallen in the last decade. . . . Some of them are members of my own church, or were. . . . The iniquities of our great hotels are an old and well-known tale. . . . Our track is a nuisance, a misery, a shame, a disgrace, and a curse.

What Mr. Belmont's racing commission cares for morals as compared with horses now appears. Police power within its inclosures has been granted to it by the law. Within are the bookmakers and pool-sellers, who attract the crowd of dupes and rascals. For their privileged stand within they pay from five to eight thousand dollars per day, and securely ply the business which, *outside the gate*, incurs fine and imprisonment. What New York has suffered is imminent in New Hampshire, where the Legislature of 1905 was hoodwinked into chartering the same iniquity. Dummy incorporators having formed the "New England Breeders' Club," men who are or have been active in the sort of scheme that has cursed Saratoga quickly took control as their "associates and successors." In rural Salem on the Massachusetts border, hard by populous manufacturing cities, they have been spending a great sum in creating a center of moral pollution identical with those existing here.

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Their charter is modeled upon the New York statute, and their president writes: "We intend at Salem to proceed on these lines." To thwart this the decent people of New Hampshire, led by such men as President Tucker, of Dartmouth, are now struggling. Victory in New York will help them toward victory.

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Equal Taxation in New Jersey

The equalization of taxes by requiring railways to pay taxes on their property in the same way as do other property-owners is a question that has been agitated in New Jersey for some years, and within the last year or two has been pressed toward solution by political reformers and dissatisfied taxpayers. Last week what is known as the Perkins bill passed the Assembly, and press reports indicate that it will probably be accepted by the Senate. It does not accomplish everything desired by radical reformers, but it is a long step in the right direction, as may be seen from the statement that under it the amount of taxes to be paid by the railways would be increased by three hundred per cent., or, as one speaker in the debate declared, by five millions of dollars a year. It has been almost universally agreed that the system hitherto enforced in New Jersey for taxing railways has been anything but equal. Their property has been assessed by a special board of assessors, and the amount raised has been paid into the State treasury, but has been largely used for school purposes, and thus, in a way, has been distributed. It is maintained by many that the property of railways should be taxed by towns precisely as other property is taxed; that the portion of the roadway (or section of the main stem, as it is called) lying within a certain town should be assessed and taxed by that town just like any strip of land of the same dimensions, and that the same should be done with regard to what has been called the second-class property of the railways—namely, any property not a part of the main stem lying in the town. On the other hand, it has been urged that this would give too large a proportion of the railway taxes to the large cities. The Perkins bill, as originally drawn, provided that the main stem property should be taxed at the average State tax rate by the State board of assessors and the tax paid to the State for general purposes; as amended, it provides also for the taxing of second-class property in each taxing district by the local assessors at the local rate. The issues in this general question are somewhat intricate and have apparently been purposely complicated by politicians and railway advocates. The Perkins bill, however, is indorsed by Senator Colby and Mayor Fagan, who have been leaders in this reform, and its passage is a distinct triumph for the main contention that railways should not be put upon a separate and favorable basis as regards taxes, but should bear their share of public expenses.

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Pennsylvania's Excellent Legislation

The special session of the Pennsylvania Legislature called by Governor Pennypacker shortly after the November election adjourned on February 15, after making a record remarkable not only in the annals of Pennsylvania politics but in the history of American legislation. The same body which at the regular session of 1905 passed the "ripper" legislation and proved adamant to all suggestions of improvement in election laws and in other directions, passed a series of bills giving force and effect to the reform sentiment and demands of the State. Every item of the Governor's call for the special session received attention in the shape of a legislative enactment, with the single exception of the State Civil Service Bill. This is the first time in the history of Pennsylvania that a special session accomplished the purpose for which it was called. The work done at the session was of two classes—the undoing of things which ought not to have been done and the doing of things that ought to have been done at the regular session. In the first class comes the repeal of the Ripper Bill and in the latter come the passage of the general reform measures. The record of the session includes the passage of the following bills: Greater Pittsburg Bill, Senatorial and Represent-

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ative Apportionment Bills, the Roberts Corrupt Practices Act, the Sheatz Personal Registration Bill and Uniform Primary Acts, the Jackson bill regulating the deposits of State funds and the conduct of the office of State Treasurer, the bill fixing the salary of the Insurance Commissioner at $6,000 in lieu of a $3,000 a year salary and fees, the bill fixing the salary of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at $8,000 a year in lieu of $6,000 and fees, the Philadelphia Civil Service Bill as championed by Mayor Weaver, the bill making a new salary schedule for the Insurance Department; the Shern bills, one restricting political activities of municipal employees in Philadelphia, the other prohibiting municipal employees from soliciting campaign funds; the bill limiting to $750,000 the annual expenditure for State bridges, and the third-class city personal registration bill.

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What the New Bills Do

The reapportionment bills have righted the injustice of a quarter of a century, and represent a compliance with Constitutional provisions long ignored. The Sheatz Personal Registration Bill passes substantially as prepared by the election reform element of the State and as introduced by Representative Sheatz. This bill at the regular session was not reported from committee until the last day of the session, and so killed. The Sheatz Uniform Primary measure, while not so complete and satisfactory in form and provision as prepared by the Committee on Election Laws, still represents a very great advance in the matter of primary legislation, in that it provides for uniform primaries for all parties on the same day, and places the administration of the law in the hands of the regular election officers, who are responsible to the officers of the State. It provides for separate party ballots, which an elector can have upon request and complying with the fairly simple basis of party standing. The new Political Assessment Bill provides that no officer, clerk, or employee in the government of any city of the first class (Philadelphia) shall demand, solicit, collect, or receive, or be in any manner concerned in demanding, collecting, or receiving any assessment, subscription, or contribution, nor shall any such officer, clerk, or employee give any contribution intended for any political purpose to any person, corporation, committee, or association. The Roberts bill, patterned somewhat after the law in England, aims to prevent corruption by means of publicity. It places no limit upon a candidate's expenditures, but it does provide that he must under oath make out his campaign expenses. It relates to all candidates for office, and, that there may be no dodging of election expenses, it defines them to mean all expenditures "of money or other valuable things in furtherance of the nomination of any person or persons as candidates for public office, or any furtherance of the election of any person or persons to public office or to defeat the nomination or election to public office of any person or persons." It further requires that all expenditures must first pass through the hands of the treasurer of the committee, who must account for every expenditure made. The Shern bill is designed specially to take police out of politics, and forbids any employee of Philadelphia to be a member of any political convention, except in the performance of his political duty, or to serve as a member of or attend a meeting of any committee of any political party or take any active part in political management or in political campaigns.

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Comment on the Results

Surely, as the Philadelphia "Press" declares, "These are large results. No one at the beginning of the session would have dared to predict an outcome so comprehensive and satisfactory. No measure has been passed that any good citizen can deplore, and nearly every act will have a far-reaching and lasting effect." The "Ledger," in commenting upon the resolution of thanks passed by the Legislature and sent to Governor Pennypacker for his patriotic action in calling an extraordinary session, declares: "The Governor deserves these thanks and the thanks of all the people of Pennsylvania." He had the wisdom

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to perceive the significance of the popular revolt against corruption and graft and the duty of immediate compliance with the just demands of the people of the State. Even he did not at first contemplate so broad a programme as has been carried out. To suggest to this Legislature the most sweeping measures of non-partisan reform seemed visionary, but the response to his summons was such as to open up the wide opportunity which the Governor recognized in his second call. The Governor himself, in a special message to the House and Senate and in a personal letter to each member thereof, declared:

> We have reached the end of what has proven to be a most important session of the General Assembly of this State, and I congratulate you most heartily upon the success which has attended your efforts. You have risen above the desire to influence personal interests, and have had regard in what you have done for the welfare of the commonwealth. This session will long be remembered as an example of what can be accomplished when men are inspired with such sentiments. You have made an earnest effort to solve the difficult problem of apportionment, and the legislation you have enacted will do much to place upon a higher plane the administration of public affairs in this State. Such achievements will deserve and receive the commendation and appreciation of all thoughtful citizens.

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Municipal Reform in Philadelphia

Another notable victory for good government was won by the people of Philadelphia at the municipal election, February 20, when the fusion forces carried the city by a majority of 10,000. While this represents an apparent falling off of interest from the November figures, in that election great excitement prevailed, sensational developments and disclosures followed one another, the Mayor was an active campaign speaker, and the whole force of his administration was actively applied to the fusion candidates. At the February election there was no excitement, no sensations; the Mayor very properly took the ground that his obligations were not in the direction of conducting campaigns, but to give the best possible administration; so, while his sympathies were with the City party-Democratic candidates, there was no such active co-operation as in November. Moreover, in the campaign just closed, the only city officers to be elected were two magistrates, and as both candidates were sure of election, one to represent the majority, one the minority, interest was expected to be very slight, especially as in a number of wards only school directors and election officers were to be chosen. The reform leaders very properly refused to make any definite pre-election forecasts; but the results showed how thoroughly aroused the people really are. With a minimum of active interest, a very small campaign fund (less than ten per cent. of that raised in November), with many active workers who had aided fusion through the Lincoln party column in November returned to the Republican ranks, the electors quietly went to the polls and registered another rebuke to the old forces, and showed in an unmistakable manner their independence and determination to place Philadelphia's government on a permanently higher plane. A number of thoroughly good and representative men were elected to Councils, and both branches of the local legislature may now be depended on to support Mayor Weaver and to represent the best interests of the city. Efficient and honest election officers who will serve at the gubernatorial and mayoralty elections were also elected.

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Pittsburg's Election

The election of George W. Guthrie, a Democrat, as Mayor of Pittsburg (who will, by virtue of the new law, be the first Mayor of Greater Pittsburg) is another significant event. It represents the triumph of principle, integrity, and independence over the forces of predatory wealth and business politics. It indicates, as the New York "Tribune" points out, "the purpose of the voters to assert their power and to compel a return to popular and honest government. A new force has been liberated which promises the elimination of old-time abuses and the attainment, generally, of a higher level of citizenship and government." Mr. Guthrie is one of the best types of the useful American citizen.

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With a strong penchant for politics, he has never allowed prospect of office or preferment to beguile him into "unholy alliances." In 1896 he was the fusion candidate for Mayor of Pittsburg, and many believe he was elected, although the returns were manipulated to produce a different result. He has always been an active reformer, and as attorney he has helped time and again to protect the city's best interest. He has been actively identified with the National Municipal League, serving on its principal committees, also with the Election Reforms Committee of Pennsylvania, and was a member of the committee which drafted the recently passed personal registration and uniform primary laws. In short, he has been a conspicuous supporter of every forward political movement in his city and State, and has been an active factor in the National movements making for higher standards of citizenship and administration. It was reported that Mr. Guthrie would be the Democratic candidate for Governor. He has disposed of this suggestion in a characteristic way:

"I am not and will not be a candidate for Governor on any ticket. I will not permit the use of my name as a candidate, and, if I live, will serve out my term as Mayor of the city of Pittsburg. I expect to support my party's nominee, but I accord to every man connected with the city government the same right—and that is, to support the party to which he is attached. There will be no political machine constructed in Pittsburg during my administration, whether it be Democratic or otherwise. I have repeatedly said that no man under me need feel that his position depends upon political service. I will issue no political orders myself, nor will I permit department heads or bureau heads or foremen to issue orders. The time for such outrageous methods is going by rapidly."

Mr. Guthrie was asked: "Are you aware that a majority of both branches of Councils will be Republican, at least during the first two years of your administration?"

"That fact makes no difference to me," he replied. "Councils will do what I ask of them, because I will ask nothing that is not honest, reasonable, and fair."

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St. Louis's Protest Against Chicago Overruled

An interesting decision in an unusual legal proceeding was that given by the Supreme Court of the United States last week concerning the right of the city of Chicago to turn its sewage into the Mississippi River above St. Louis through the medium of the newly constructed Sanitary District Canal and the Illinois River. The suit was brought in the name of the State of Missouri against the State of Illinois, the Supreme Court having original jurisdiction because the litigants were States. The real parties in interest were the city of St. Louis and the city of Chicago. Chicago has built a drainage canal, designed to be a part of a great waterway in the future, connecting Lake Michigan with the Illinois River. Through this canal the sewage of Chicago, which formerly polluted Lake Michigan, the source of Chicago's water supply, is diverted into the Illinois River and thence into the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico. St. Louis protested against this action as tending to pollute the Mississippi River, the source of her water supply. Chicago's answer was that there was no pollution at St. Louis; that running water purifies itself, and that by the time St. Louis was reached all harmful elements had disappeared. Chicago even contended that turning a large amount of Lake Michigan water into the Illinois River, along with the sewage, really tended to improve the quality of that otherwise sluggish stream. The Supreme Court took Chicago's view of the matter. It held that there was no evidence that the water was polluted as far away as St. Louis, a distance of 357 miles. The Court said:

There is no pretense that there is a nuisance of the simple kind that was known to older common law. There is nothing which can be detected by unassisted senses—no visible increase of filth, no new smell. On the contrary, it is proved that the great volume of pure water from Lake Michigan which is mixed with the sewage at the start has improved the Illinois River in these respects to a noticeable extent. Formerly it was sluggish and ill-smelling. Now it is comparatively a clear stream, to which edible fish have returned. Its water is drunk by fishermen, it is said, without evil results. The plaintiff's case depends upon the inference of the unseen. It draws its inference from two propositions. First, that typhoid fever has increased considerably since the change, and that other explanations have been disproved; and, second, the bacillus of typhoid can and does survive the germ and

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reach the intake of St. Louis in the Mississippi.

There has been some increase in the number of typhoid cases in St. Louis since the drainage canal was opened, but the Court declared that there was no proof that the increase was due to sewage from Chicago, and cited the fact that there had been no such increase of typhoid cases along the Illinois River. There were other possible sources of typhoid contamination nearer at hand, and the Court intimated that St. Louis probably would have to seek relief through some system of filtration which would protect it from all sources of contamination. The Court stated that if it were to prevent Chicago from diverting its sewage into the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers it would later no doubt be obliged to exercise a like restraint upon St. Louis, which herself discharges sewage into the Mississippi River. While deciding the case at issue, on the evidence presented, in favor of Chicago, the Court stated that it would rule in favor of St. Louis if the case should be reopened and a presentation of facts should be made clearly sustaining the contention of St. Louis. It is a fact upon which much stress is laid by Chicago that fish have appeared, since the opening of the drainage canal, in portions of the Illinois River where formerly none were to be found.

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The German-American Tariff

Germany and America are ultra-protectionist countries. At present it would be hard to get the parliaments of either Power—the Reichstag or the Congress—to pass a low-tariff act. Germany, having passed a high-tariff law, to take effect March 1, has been vainly endeavoring to induce our Government to negotiate a reciprocity treaty if we would take advantage of the minimum rates of the new treaty. But there is no chance just now of its approval by Congress. It had been suggested, however, that Germany would gladly offer corresponding advantages if we modified some of our customs regulations and proceedings. Accordingly, a conference was held a fortnight ago, at which certain concessions were decided upon. While rejecting the application of German importers for open hearings in cases of contested valuations of German goods (because American importers would be restrained from testifying freely if confronted by representatives of great German trade interests, who would be in a position to injure their business), the rule was somewhat relaxed by an amendment authorizing the Board of Appraisers to determine for themselves in each case whether hearings should be open or closed. A second change in the regulations making them more acceptable to Germans is one directing our consular officers in Germany to consult with local boards of trade in reference to the price of goods to be shipped to America, the possibly prejudiced opinions of the boards of trade on these questions of course not being conclusive but only advisory. A third and more important concession is that invoices hereafter shall be consummated at the place where the goods are manufactured and not at the port of shipment as at present, but that to the invoice valuation there shall be added the cost of carriage from the place of manufacture to the port of shipment. These changes have apparently afforded a sufficient basis for a request to the Reichstag from the Imperial Chancellor, Prince von Bülow, to suspend for fifteen months the application of German maximum rates to our goods. The bill was promptly passed by the Reichstag and also by the Bundesrath, or Federal Council. The real reason, of course, for granting minimum rates to us is not to be found in the slight changes made in our customs regulations, but in the recognition by Germans that in the alternative, a tariff war, Germany would suffer more than we would. Not only would she pay more for breadstuffs, but in the event of our imposition of a retaliatory tariff above the present Dingley rates she would lose most of her valuable export trade to America, exceeding a hundred million dollars a year. American exports to Germany, on the other hand, considerably exceed two hundred millions. Even by the minimum rates of the new German tariff America will suffer from in-

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creased duties on agricultural products, cattle, and manufactured goods. But cotton and copper (absolute necessities to German manufacturers, and representing about half our exports to Germany) remain on the free list. It would seem unlikely that they should be removed therefrom. Thus, if a fiscal war with Germany must be ultimately waged, we have the prospective assurance of knowing that the latest ultra-tariff maker will suffer more than we, who have also gone too far in that direction. This, however, should by no means blind us to the value and significance of the discrimination just made in our favor. It is another witness of the desire of the German Emperor and the German people to win the good will of America. It should—and we believe it will—be followed by a reciprocal feeling here.

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Liberal Government in England

In accordance with custom, the Lord Chancellor of England last week, on bended knee, handed to the King an address which his Majesty read to the new Parliament, thus fitly completing its opening ceremonies. Edward VII. read this "message" as if it were his own. It was really the new Ministry's message. The official on bended knee was the representative of the governing power in Great Britain. The King's Speech was notable. First, he formally recognized that the negotiations resulting in the "honorable peace" between Japan and Russia were "due to the initiative of the President of the United States." Next, the King's hope that the result of the Algeciras Conference "may be conducive to the maintenance of peace among all nations" may possibly be taken as an admission that the Moroccan situation really threatened the peace of Europe. Thirdly, turning to colonial affairs. the message announces the stoppage of importations of Chinese laborers into the Transvaal until the new Government of that colony can deal with the question: for both the Transvaal and Orange River Colony are to have broad constitutional governments; they are to be no mere Crown Colonies. Furthermore, the question of colonial preference is deferred by the postponement of the proposed Colonial Conference until next year, while the warnings and pleadings of protectionists are met by a statement from the new free-trade and Liberal Government that both exports and imports are steadily increasing. Finally, as to Ireland, a promise was made of administrative improvement; definite proposals are now being considered to effect changes in the government of Ireland. A day later, as an amendment to the Address in reply to the King's Speech, Colonel Saunderson, a Conservative, moved an expression of alarm, believing that "his Majesty's Ministers have committed themselves to a policy which will endanger the liberties and property of the loyalist minority, promote discord in civil life, and impair the integrity of the United Kingdom." This amendment, the first test of the new Government's strength, was rejected by the enormous majority of 406 to 88. The vote was taken after a stirring speech by Mr. James Bryce, Chief Secretary for Ireland, who remarked that the late Government itself had admitted the necessity for large changes in Irish administration, that the present Government would make an effort to improve the Irish government system and to associate the people therewith. For this the country had given to the House of Commons a mandate. No constitutional government could afford to overlook Ireland's demand. Mr. Bryce declined, however, at present to outline the Government measures indicated in the Speech from the Throne.

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Chinese Unrest

China's latest reform scheme has been to transform the historic literary examination halls in Peking into a military school. The surprisingly fine record made at the recent army maneuvers by the thirty thousand soldiers—three-quarters of the army already recruited in the metropolitan province of Chili—has inspired the Chinese authorities to redoubled efforts, not only in that province (as is seen by the event above mentioned), but also in many others. In the provinces of Hunan and Hupe, for

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instance, similar governmental enthusiasm and energy exist, as is noted by the merchants and missionaries whose headquarters are at Hankau, "the Chicago of China." There is no question about the fact that the Imperial Government is arming to protect itself. Its object, however, is not so much to guard itself against foreigners as against anti-Manchu revolutionists. The present Manchu dynasty has never quite conquered the pure Chinese. Sir Chentung-Liang-Cheng, the Chinese Minister at Washington, declares that the main object of the political agitation in China by revolutionists, especially in the south, is to bring about international complications with the view of crippling, if not wholly destroying, the Manchu dynasty. This opinion is confirmed by a well-known missionary who has just arrived in this country; he declares that the trouble now brewing in China is ultimately and often directly attributable to a deep-seated and unconquerable popular antipathy toward the Government; that this feeling is spreading, and that the anti-foreign sentiment is merely one of the expressions of an anti-dynastic movement (though the boycott on American goods has had its special cause). It is only natural, we think, that the educational progress in China, increasingly evident during the past eight years, should find its foe in any reactionary government resting on ancient and outworn traditions. The Empress Dowager, and Yuan-Shi-Kai, the most influential of the Viceroys, were once both reactionaries, but have, since the interference of the allied Powers in 1900, shown unmistakable and gratifying signs of more liberal sentiments. But, despite these and other welcome changes, the imperial government still stands too considerably for the negation of progress. The people realize this as never before because of the return of many of the thousands of students who went to Japan for their education; they bring back Japanese ideas as to a progressive governmental administration which shall be backed up by all the people; and, being mostly members of the better classes, their sharp criticisms of the Chinese system are largely responsible for the growth and propagation of nationalistic, anti-dynastic, anti-foreign, and boycott sentiments. It is reassuring to think that the anti-foreign feeling is not directed towards the missionaries as much as has been supposed. The Presbyterian, Methodist, and Episcopal Missionary Boards have received tidings from their agents at Tientsin, Shanghai, Fuchau, and elsewhere, stating that the missionaries were in no actual peril. But, on the other hand, on Monday of this week news came that American mission stations at Nanchang in the province of Kiangsi had been destroyed, and that, although the missionaries escaped, a family of four English people had been killed.

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Universal Suffrage in Austria-Hungary

In Austria a German minority has long been able to outvote a Slav majority; in Hungary a Magyar minority has long been able to outvote a majority composed of other elements. The action of the Emperor Francis Joseph last week should properly readjust electoral conditions. In the Austrian Reichsrath, or Parliament, at Vienna, through the Premier, Baron Gautch von Frankenthurn, the Government's plan was introduced in several bills presented on the same day, providing that every Austrian twenty-four years old and domiciled in a constituency for at least a year should be entitled to vote, and that every Austrian holding citizenship for at least three years should be entitled to election to the lower house of the Reichsrath. Plural voting is prohibited, and a division of electoral districts is designed so as to give to the Germans 205 representatives, to the Slavs 230, to the Italians 16, and to the Rumanians 4. As might have been expected, the Premier's explanation of the Government's plan was subjected to noisy interruptions from many Pan-Germans; most of the deputies, however, heartily applauded his speech. In the Hungarian Parliament at Budapest a more dramatic scene occurred, due to the failure of the Emperor-King's efforts to form a government from the parliamentary majority. The leaders of the majority declined to

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form a Cabinet unless Francis Joseph decreed that Hungary might make a commercial treaty with foreign countries independently of Austria, and also that the language of words of army command should be Magyar (or Hungarian). The Emperor, as King of Hungary, naturally could not see his way to granting either of these demands without disrupting the Dual Empire. In order to obtain a parliamentary majority favorable to his views, he dissolved Parliament, and, appealing to the country, offered practically universal suffrage, on apparently similar terms as in Austria. Nearly sixty years ago Louis Kossuth commanded the world's sympathy in a popular struggle against the then young and reactionary Francis Joseph. To-day the world's sympathy may be rather with that now venerable monarch and against Francis Kossuth, the able son of Louis Kossuth, and one of the most influential of the leaders of the parliamentary majority.

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The Reform of Insurance

The power of public opinion in effecting political and social reforms has had few more striking illustrations in this country than is found in the report of the Armstrong Investigating Committee, which has just been made public. The three greatest life insurance companies in the world—and they were also, it may be said, the three greatest private financial corporations in the world—were doing a successful, highly profitable, and thoroughly solvent business in all parts of the world, with their headquarters in the city of New York. They were paying large death claims annually without hesitation, they possessed splendid lists of assets in gilt-edged stocks, bonds, and real estate, and any man who held in one of these three companies a paid-up or even partially paid-up policy regarded himself as the fortunate possessor of a security as unquestioned in its value to his estate as a government bond. Out of a private quarrel arising in one of these three companies, over the question as to what individual or group of individuals should control its affairs, its cash, and its vast accumulation of stocks and bonds, little by little grew a public scandal. It was discovered that the trustees of these great corporations, who were chosen to manage their trusts for the benefit of the policy-holders, were in reality conducting the corporations primarily for their own financial benefit, and only secondarily for the benefit of the real owners. The Armstrong report is the first fruit of less than a year of public agitation, discussion, and inquiry, and to our mind it is a distinct demonstration that there is in America such a thing as Public Opinion, which can think clearly and express itself effectively through its legislative representatives.

Although the report is presented to the Legislature of the State of New York, it is really a document of National importance. Its masterly understanding of the details of life insurance, its clear and simple style, the dispassionate and yet direct and convincing tone in which it is written, and the constructive and practical character of the remedial legislation which it proposes, will give it permanent value as a public dcoument on a subject of vital interest to thousands of men and women. While it is radical and drastic, it is quite the opposite of socialistic in the destructive sense of that word. It is the work of those who desire to build up and strengthen, not to tear down and weaken, the achievements and prestige of American financiers. Whatever honest criticism may be made upon the details of the Committee's recommendations, for its work as a whole there is nothing but praise. Its Chairman, Senator Armstrong, and its chief counsel, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, deserve the National reputation which they have won for ability, persistency, and single-mindedness in pursuing an impartial investigation in the face of extraordinary technical difficulties. Their work was carried on, moreover, counter to the prejudices and influence of powerful corporations, and the personal pressure brought to bear by unscrupulous and selfish capitalists and politicians. Nobody will ever know, probably, how really terrific the pressure of this kind was, but it is easy to imagine it. The report, therefore,

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not only reflects the ability and skill of Mr. Hughes, Senator Armstrong, and the Committee, but redounds to their honor.

On another page we give in some detail the recommendations of the Committee for the legislative remedy of insurance abuses. These remedies are grouped under sixteen heads, and as they are proposed for the consideration and debate of the Legislature, it follows that they are not to be accepted by the public without careful consideration and discussion. Some of them, however, it appears to us, ought to be taken without controversy as the foundation for any just and effective legislation. Nothing is insurance which does not really insure. It is a truism, therefore, that security for the policy-holder must be sought for and maintained, first, last, and all the time. Such security depends, it seems to us—

I. Upon publicity. The uncovering of financial abuses and mismanagement during the past year in the insurance field is due to publicity. It is true that this publicity sprang from private initiative. Legislation ought to provide that hereafter it shall spring from public initiative. The Committee recommends under this head a much more thorough and comprehensive system of stating annually the assets and liabilities of insurance companies, their commissions, expenses for legislation and other legal work, salaries, death claims, profits and losses, and investments in bonds or real estate or other securities. Upon the method by which a thorough and plain public knowledge of the affairs of their company may be obtained by the policy-holders depends, it seems to us, the efficiency of all other reforms.

II. Next in importance to the provision for publicity comes the provision for mutualization. Some means must be found by which the policy-holder may have an influential if not a dominant voice in the management of his company. The Armstrong Committee recognizes this by providing a plan for an effective ballot protected in such a way that each policy-holder may vote for the board of directors. The Committee does not appear definitely to discountenance stock life insurance companies, but it does unquestionably favor the mutual plan and the empowering of policy-holders to elect their own directors. It has been objected that if policy-holders have this right they will not exercise it; but a man who can be persuaded of the value of life insurance and the necessity of paying an annual premium can also be persuaded of the necessity of casting an annual ballot to protect his accumulated premiums.

III. If insurance management can be reformed by upright legislative enactments, it can be corrupted and destroyed by purchasable legislative action. The next step, therefore, after assuring publicity and mutual control, is to prohibit by criminal statutes both the payment of campaign contributions and the maintenance of paid and irresponsible lobbyists. The Committee's recommendations in this regard need simply to be stated in order to be adopted without further discussion.

IV. The foregoing reforms will become dead letters unless the State Superintendent of Insurance is not only an honest man, but a man of strong enough character to resist the personal pressure which great corporations can always bring to bear upon such an official. Legislative steps should be taken to strengthen both the system and the personnel of the State Insurance Department. Whether the Superintendent of Insurance should be an appointed or an elective officer is a question for debate, but that he should be a responsible officer is undebatable. For, as the Armstrong report expressly says of the State Insurance Department, "most of the evils which have been disclosed by the investigation would have been impossible had there been a vigorous performance of the duties already laid upon the department, a vigilant watchfulness in the interest of policy-holders, and a courageous exercise of the powers which the statute confers."

If the recommendations made to the Legislature under the four heads which we have outlined are adopted, the basis will be laid for a far-reaching and much-needed reform of our insurance system. The other recommendations of the Committee are fair subjects for discussion which cannot be entered upon here at

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the present time. They involve investments, limitation of business and expenditures, rebates, and the distribution of surplus. These we propose to consider hereafter.

After all, the vital thing is to remember that legislation never made an honest man, as it has never made a temperate man. Statutes, laws, and prohibitions may check dishonesty and protect the victims of thieves, embezzlers, and grafters, but it cannot create honor, unselfishness, and scrupulous regard for the rights and advantages of others. A righteous education that makes every man feel that stock-jobbing, railroad-grabbing, corporation-looting, and the selling of valueless securities to unsuspicious purchasers is as mean and contemptible as cruelty to children is the only means by which the country may rid itself permanently of the types of financiers and politicians whose corruption and dishonor are recorded in the Armstrong report.

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The Supreme Court on Railway Regulation

When the United States Supreme Court reached, by the narrow majority of five to four, a decision in the Northern Securities case, The Outlook expressed, respecting its decision, the following judgment: "In our opinion, the chief value of the Supreme Court decision in the Northern Securities case is not that it prevents the consolidation of two competing railways, but that it paves the way to Governmental regulation of those railways after they shall have been consolidated; not that it cures a particular abuse of corporation powers, but that it establishes more firmly than ever the sound political and industrial doctrine that corporations deriving their existence from the hands of the people must submit to regulation by the people" (March 26, 1904, p. 727). This judgment is equally applicable to the decision of the Supreme Court rendered with unanimity last week in the case of the Inter-State Commerce Commission against the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company. That Company agreed to deliver at New Haven 60,000 tons of coal at an aggregate cost which, after deducting the market price of the coal at the mines and the cost of transportation from Newport News to Connecticut, would leave the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway only about 28 cents a ton for carrying the coal to Newport News, while the published tariff was $1.45 per ton. The suit was brought by the Inter-State Commerce Commission to enjoin the carrying out of this contract. The answer of the railway company was in effect that it charged the full rate for transportation, and sold the coal at less than market rates; indeed, at a price which involved a loss, and that special circumstances justified it in so doing. Thus the question before the Supreme Court of the United States was, as stated by Mr. Justice White in delivering the opinion of the Court, this: "Has a carrier engaged in inter-State commerce the power to contract to sell, and transport in completion of the contract the commodity sold, when the price stipulated in the contract does not pay the cost of purchase, the cost of delivery, and the published freight rates?" In deciding this question the Court reaffirms the Constitutional power of Congress to regulate inter-State commerce, subject only to expressed or implied limitations on the power of Congress by other clauses of the Constitution. In other words, it puts an effective end to the claim that has been made that this Congressional authority is a special and limited, not a general and unlimited, authority. Thus, to repeat what we said in 1904, the Supreme Court "establishes more firmly than ever the sound political and industrial doctrine that corporations deriving their existence from the hands of the people must submit to regulation by the people."

Not less important is the further virtual decision of the Supreme Court that a common carrier cannot be both a dealer and a carrier, and, by fixing a special price upon the goods which it carries, in effect underbid other owners of similar goods who are dependent upon the railway for the transportation of their products to the market. To allow this, says the Court, would allow the carrier to render the prohibitions of the Inter-State Commerce

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Commission ineffective. "The existence of such a power would enable a carrier, if it chose to do so, to select the favored persons from whom he would buy and the favored persons to whom he would sell, thus giving such persons an advantage over every other, and leading to a monopolization in the hands of such persons of all the products as to which the carrier chose to deal." It is not necessary that there should be an explicit provision of the law prohibiting the carrier from becoming a dealer. "Because no express prohibition against a carrier who engages in inter-State commerce becoming a dealer in commodities moving in such commerce is found in the act, it does not follow that the provisions which are expressed in that act should not be applied and be given their lawful effect." The illegality of the carrier acting also as a dealer grows out of the fact that, if he does thus act both as carrier and dealer, the provision of equable and just rates of transportation is practically made inoperative. It is interesting to note that the Supreme Court quotes in support of this principle a decision of an English court, based upon, not statutory enactment, but upon common-law principles. In the case of the Attorney-General vs. The Great Northern Railway Company, Vice-Chancellor Kindersley decided that dealing in coal by the railway company was illegal because incompatible with its duties as a public carrier and calculated to inflict an injury upon the public, and therefore the Act of Parliament granting the charter to operate the railway implied a prohibition against the company's engaging in any other business.

It is always perilous in interpreting the decision of a court to make applications of the principle involved other than those which are made by the court itself. All that the Supreme Court has decided in this case is that a railway corporation possessing general railway powers under its charter has not a right to engage in the sale of goods as well as in their transportation. It has not decided that legislation may not confer this power to exercise a double function upon either a dealer or a railway, nor that this power has not in some cases been so conferred. But it has decided that such power is not to be implied, and, on the contrary, that without some express provision such combination of functions is illegal, not because it violates an express provision of the statute, but because it is against public policy. It would seem, therefore, clear that the Beef Trust cannot act as a transportation company; that a coal company cannot be combined with a railway company, the same corporation mining and selling the coal and furnishing the transportation; and since the illegality of such a combination depends, not upon any express provisions of the Inter-State Commerce Law, but upon the principles of the common law, and specifically upon the rights and duties of the common carrier, it would appear to be equally applicable to State and inter-State commerce. Of course it is always possible for the same men to form two separate corporations and conduct the two operations of selling goods and transporting goods under the guise of separate organizations; but it is also true that it is a great gain to the public to have the illegality of such combinations explicitly confirmed by the highest tribunal in the land, and although temporary evasions of the law are always possible, ultimate prevention and punishment of such evasion is always possible.

It is true that the Court recognizes the fact that fifteen years ago the Inter-State Commerce Commission decided that railways possessing explicit legislative authority to mine coal could not be denied that power, and intimated that this decision and the continued practice under it constitute a precedent of possibly binding authority. But it is not clear that the Supreme Court regards it as binding except as against the Inter-State Commerce Commission, or as preventing legislative enactment—Federal or State, or both—prohibiting, in such cases, the continued exercise of trading functions by a common carrier. In the opinion of The Outlook, no decision of the Supreme Court, except possibly the decisions in the so-called Colonial cases—which established the right of Congress to govern our insular possessions—has been of as far-reaching importance

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as this decision in the case of the Inter-State Commerce Commission against the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company.

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Ash Wednesday

Once more the thought of the Christian world turns to the figure of the Christ in the solitude of the desert, meeting those temptations which were to test his strength, clear to his own consciousness the mission on which he came, and, through struggle, suffering, and victory, to clothe him with power as with an invisible garment. The lessons of the Lenten season strike with a new and impressive force on the conscience of a country which has suddenly awakened to its own lack of rectitude, and of a people to whom there has come, on a great scale, a conviction of sin. In the midst of an almost unexampled prosperity, fields yielding as perhaps they have never yielded before, mines contributing on a colossal scale to the wealth of the country, the channels of business choked by its volume, a great increase of comfort and an immense advance of luxury, a piling up of wealth which would have been incredible even thirty years ago—in the very heart of this material prosperity suddenly there has sounded the voice of one crying in the wilderness, and while the feast is at its height again the invisible hand that has so often recorded the doom of nations and of men has written on the wall. Other days have seemed more fortunate because less disturbed; but in the truest sense of the word there can come no greater prosperity to a people than the awakening of its conscience. Americans are not worse than the men of other nations; on the contrary, the standards of personal purity, of family integrity, and of individual honesty are perhaps higher, taking the whole people, than anywhere else in the world. It must not be forgotten that no nation has ever been so tempted by the things which minister to the senses, that to no other nation have ever come such opportunities of rapid accumulation of wealth, into the hands of no other people have ever been committed such colossal fortunes. That human nature has succumbed to the pressure of these appeals is not surprising; and they who sit in judgment must beware lest in passing sentence they reveal, not a penetrating insight, but a fundamental lack of a real knowledge of conditions.

Nevertheless, after all explanations have been made and every defense put in, it is a sad but most healthful experience through which Americans are passing. There have been few disclosures of calculated villainy, few colossal defaults, few infractions of the primary laws of life; but there have come to light widespread stupefying of the conscience, a confusion of moral ideas, and an acquiescence in evil conditions so general that, while great success has come to individuals, something very like failure threatens the Nation. Americans have insensibly drifted into the position in which they seem to regard their government as a colossal opportunity for making money; and the business and the government of the country are now so interwoven that nothing can save the government to its great uses and conserve the ideals of the Nation except radical severance of these two interests. The men who are trying to drive business out of public life, and to establish before the law the equal rights of all men, find themselves confronted, not simply by political bosses and corrupt politicians, but by men of the highest commercial standing. The most tragic aspect of recent events has been the fact that the prime offenders have been men whom communities have looked upon as incarnations of integrity as well as possessors of business genius.

A nation in sackcloth and ashes would disturb the conventional judgments of the world, but would attain its highest dignity. No concealment nor evasion, but searching revelation and heartfelt confession, are needed, and are fortunately common among Americans. We are only at the beginning of a revival of religion which is to express itself in a revival of personal righteousness. In every direction the movement gathers headway; out of the confusion higher standards are defining themselves; out of discouragement and abasement new possibilities of public service are reveal-

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ing themselves. The pitiful tragedy of wealth gained without honor has opened the eyes of young men especially to the emptiness of mere material success; never in the history of the Nation has there been such a series of conspicuous failures brought to light as during the past twelve months. It is time for self-searching, for confession, for humility, for silence, and for prayer.

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Open the Doors

One of the most striking and fruitful of modern discoveries in medicine is the restorative power of fresh air; and the out-of-doors cure is now widely adopted for a great variety of diseases. What medicine cannot do fresh air does with rapid and astonishing effectiveness. This is another step, not in the direction of the discovery of remedies, but of a rational and normal way of life; it is as a preventive of disease even more than as a healing agent that out-of-door living assumes increasing importance in the experience of men. There is no doubt that the scourge of tuberculosis, which is a plague far more destructive than cholera or yellow fever, and nervous troubles of all kinds which sap the vitality, pervert the judgment, and blur the joy of life for multitudes of men and women, have their source or occasion chiefly in living too much indoors and breathing the vitiated air of close, overheated rooms. Simply to throw the windows open is to invite health to come in, and to go out-of-doors and live is to take health by the hand. "Give me health and a day," said Emerson, "and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous."

Dr. Johnson once declared that a sick man is a rascal. The world has been well served by sick men, and their fortitude, resolution, and mastery of pain have written some of the most inspiring chapters in the history of human achievement. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that much of the crime in the world is due to disease; that half the misery has its root in physical infirmities; and that to the same cause is due a vast number of harsh judgments, false and depressing views of life, misconceptions of motives, and morbid wretchedness. Health is not a luxury; it is a duty. He who lives with reckless disregard of the conditions essential to health invites disease and may, in the end, incur the guilt of suicide. Parting company with nature in over-eagerness to make a fortune or a reputation involves not only the loss of one of the great resources of life, but a diminution of the vital energy and, in many cases, the premature ending of life itself.

If living out-of-doors is essential to physical health, it is even more essential to moral health. A vast amount of the moral illness in the world is caused by too much indoor life; by keeping too much within ourselves, walking endlessly around the little circle of our own experience, questioning our own motives, trying to settle the problems of the universe from our own individual standpoint, and treating our personal conditions as if they were the general conditions under which all men live. These and a thousand other forms the disease of egoism takes on, and disqualifies men and women not only from exercising sound judgment and seeing things as they are, but from winning contentment, happiness, and sanity. The man who is perplexed by questions about his own fitness to discharge a duty or perform a task cannot solve it by thinking about it; let him set his hand to the work, put his strength in it, and he will soon discover whether he has blundered or not. And a multitude of people who are allowing their thoughts to brood continuously over their own misfortunes would find a great lifting of the weight if they would get out of themselves. The quickest and most effective way of helping one's self is to help somebody else. When the invisible house in which every man lives begins to darken, open the windows, set the doors wide, and escape at once into the great world. The remedy for egoism is a greater interest in the affairs, fortunes, and happiness of some one else. The world is full of opportunities for getting out-of-doors and escaping from the prison-house of our own experience; to take the sting out of your personal misfortunes, share the misfortunes of others.

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The Spectator

The penny point in character may be studied to advantage on the street-cars. The Spectator is always interested in his neighbors on the trolley or the elevated; they reveal themselves and human nature at large in many ways; just now the Spectator is holding the penny point of character in mental suspension. A woman carrying a net shopping-bag containing bulky manila envelopes entered a cross-town car and took the seat beside the Spectator. She was middle-aged, brisk, and wholesome-looking, with a mingling of the domestic, business, and professional air. The Spectator was attracted by the humor and kindliness of her countenance. His eye caught the top line of a memorandum showing through the net, "Consult at Lenox Library—" The conductor paused before her. She handed him a dime, saying, "Transfer to Fourth Avenue, please." He handed her five pennies. "Haven't you a nickel?" she asked. "Lady, somebody's got to take the pennies." She held her open purse under his eyes; it held five pennies. "You see I could have paid you in pennies. I wouldn't mind taking pennies, but I should have to pay them to a conductor on my return trip." "Nobody wants pennies, lady, but I got to get rid of 'em somehow." "Well, give them to somebody else. Let me have my dime and I will pay you exact fare in these five pennies." He handed her a nickel, less in anger than in sorrow. The whole car was smiling; from personal experience everybody appreciated the situation. The woman's eyes twinkled as she met the eyes of the Spectator. "A conductor gave me five pennies last night," she said, "and I had not time to provide myself with more change this morning. I suppose I look amiable. I get pennies very frequently. And I never said a word before because I know conductors have their trials about pennies. I receive pennies as helping my fellow-man carry his burden. Somebody's got to carry the pennies—maximum weight with minimum value." "Fourth Avenue!" called the conductor. As she went out she said, with laughing eyes, to him, "I am very sorry I had to make you take back those pennies. I'll come better prepared next time." "Pennies ain't no laughin' matter, lady. Some folks are glad to give 'em to you because you don't want 'em. But you ain't that kind," he observed, with clearer meaning than grammar.

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Waiting for a car near the Broadway car-shed, the Spectator mentioned pennies to the starter. "Here's a gentleman wants to know about pennies," the starter said to a group of conductors. They thrust their hands into their pockets. "Want any for change, mister?" The light died out of their eyes when they learned that information only was desired. "What do we do with the pennies? Pass 'em on. Everybody delighted to get 'em; say pennies is just what they've been wanting all their lives. We give 'em mostly to women and colored people—that's the kind gives 'em mostly to us." "On some lines, during hours when the leisure class travel, few pennies are received or given. The ladies that carry the pretty gold and silver purses don't hand out pennies," said the starter. "We wish the public knew how we respect people who hand us exact fares in silver," one conductor observed. "We try to be polite and careful, to exercise discretion and judgment." "I won't give five pennies flat—that is, if anybody gives me a dime I won't hand 'em back five pennies. But a quarter, I work out five pennies on that. You see, mister, there are people who save up pennies to give conductors. They think it's more economical to pay their fares in pennies." "It ain't easy for some people—working-girls who go early in the morning—to turn their pennies into silver for us," one of a just mind hastened to state.

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"I pay pennies—when I must pay pennies—to the elevated," a school-girl confided to the Spectator. "The man at the window doesn't have to carry pennies round in his pockets. I think it's real mean to pay pennies to a surface-car conductor. Because people say women always pay pennies, I never pay pennies if I can help it." "*I* never pay

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pennies," the business woman asserts; "business women never pay pennies. But it jars me to hand out a quarter and get twenty pennies back, as sometimes happens." "Do you know," said the Spectator to the school-girl, "that the real trouble for the surface conductor and the man at the window is that their companies will not receive pennies from them?" "Oh, no, I never knew that. How mean of the companies!" "No, not exactly. As the public gives, the public must take. If a company received pennies, it would have to employ an extra force to count them, and that would not pay." "Well," said the school-girl philosopher, "when you come to the truth of it, nobody seems to be to blame for anything that goes wrong. Ignorance is at the bottom of the wrong things."

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The Spectator paused before the window of the Fourteenth Street elevated station. "Do you take in many pennies?" "I take in over two hundred dollars daily at this window; over ten dollars in pennies." "How do you dispose of the pennies?" "That's easy," interrupted a woman who was asking for a fare; "he gives them to women," and carried off her portion. "Return 'em to the public," said the man at the window. "The public doesn't like to take as good as it gives. Why, you wouldn't believe it! folks sometimes throw pennies back at me." "Who gives most pennies?" "Women—seem to think traveling's cheaper if they pay for it in pennies. Women save up pennies to pay fares with. Pennies are legal tender up to twenty; I can give and must accept that many. To-day a woman offered twenty-five for five tickets and I accepted them; we avoid unpleasantness in serving the public as far as we can. I wish the public realized how much better it would be all around if exact fares were offered during rush hours; while you're making change for people who have time to wait for it, a business man or woman misses his or her train."

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A little man with silvering hair and a benevolent face dispensed light on penny points from a station window higher uptown. "It makes people mad to take pennies," he said, sadly; "it works hard feelings." "Who pays you most in pennies?" He came up gallantly: "Both sexes. I do my best not to pay back." He held an envelope to view. "I have fifty pennies in that. When I go to lunch, I pass a stall where milk and coffee are sold at odd cents a glass or cup; they take fifty pennies off me daily. Most of us have devices for working off pennies." "Pennies would not be paid if people knew how much trouble they make," the Spectator sympathized. The little man shook his amiable head: "Oh, I don't know. If you stood at this window all the time, you'd lose faith in human nature." "All along of pennies?" "All along of pennies. Why, a man will give me a dime and I'll push him a ticket and five pennies; he'll push the pennies back and say, 'Another ticket, please,' and walk off looking as if he were proud of himself for getting the best of me. Yesterday a young woman handed me a quarter. I shoved her a ticket, a dime, and ten pennies—wouldn't have done it but I was hard pressed and knew she was going right down to the stores. Before I thought she had so much as caught sight of the pennies, she exclaimed: 'Oh, I believe I've given you my counterfeit quarter that I keep as a sort of keepsake. Let me have it back!' I shoved back the quarter I thought was hers fast enough. She hardly looked at it, shoved five pennies under my nose, and walked off with her head in the air. Oh, human nature is full of twists and turns, as you'd learn if you stood for years at this window." "Perhaps fewer people will offer you pennies and more will accept them pleasantly of you hereafter," said the Spectator, optimistically; "people when told of their mistakes usually correct them." "Who's to tell them?" "I will." As the Spectator walked off he thought he heard the little man murmur solicitously, "Maybe he has hallucinations about pennies; lost his mind thinking about pennies. Pennies are mighty little things, but they show you some mighty big things about people."

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THE AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE

BY HUNTINGTON WILSON

Secretary of Legation of the United States at Tokyo

THERE is evident a growing sentiment among Americans in favor of reorganizing and improving the foreign service, diplomatic and consular, and placing it upon a stable basis. Indeed, this feeling has become so general and so strong that but for our extreme conservatism something would have been done in that direction before the present time.

The diplomatic service is the machinery by which the relations of our Government with other Governments are carried on. It is the spokesman of our policies in the council of the nations; the channel through which flows peace or war. It is the eyes and ears of our Government in our foreign affairs; and it is the every-day means of attending to our rights and obligations towards other Governments and peoples. A hermit nation needs no diplomacy; but once a nation abandons isolation, the efficiency of its diplomacy is a matter of serious concern to every citizen.

The consular service is the machinery for carrying on, improving, and increasing foreign commerce. First, there is an enormous amount of routine business. For all goods imported into the United States invoices must be authenticated at our consulates at the ports of export or places of original shipment. Consulates are the custodians of the ship's papers of American vessels while at ports within their districts. They discharge sailors, assist destitute or sick seamen, adjust difficulties between ships' captains and their crews, and generally extend the control of the home Government over the merchant marine in foreign ports. Marriages of Americans in foreign countries must be witnessed by the Consul. Deceased Americans' estates in foreign lands are, to a degree varying in different countries, under consular protection. Deeds, powers of attorney, protests, affidavits, patent applications, and other instruments executed abroad to be effective in the United States, are attested at the consulates. Such are the ordinary administrative and notarial consular duties. In those countries where extraterritoriality is in force the consular officers exercise a much wider administrative function. There the American Consular Court is the only forum in which an American can be pursued by civil or criminal law.

After giving some idea of the variety and responsibility of the consular function, we come to what is to-day the all-important object of that service. That is, the extension and increase of American business by opening up, widening, and developing fields for our export trade. A consular district generally comprises all that part of the country in which a given consulate is situated which is nearer to it than to any other American consulate. It is the duty of the consul to make a deep and special study of the industrial and mercantile conditions existing in his district. He must know what the country needs or would take in raw materials, in commodities, and in manufactured articles. He should learn how these needs are being supplied, with particular attention to those of them which the American producer—farmer, miner, manufacturer, or merchant—might supply. He should investigate and report as to whether the American import could not, by a change in form or a variation in manufacture, by a different method of packing, by more convenient accommodation in payment, or in any other way, be brought into greater demand and American trade be thus increased.

Each consular district may reveal a peculiar phase of the general import

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possibilities of a country. Hence, general reports are made by an official who looks over the field as a whole. These reports are made at consulates-general, and sometimes also at embassies and legations. Of course the capital of a country affords the best facilities for obtaining from official sources information bearing on trade. Also, in some countries government contracts are an important item in the competition for import orders. Therefore it may be wise for us, as some European Governments have done, to appoint commercial attachés to some of our embassies and legations.

Our consular service, then, exists to facilitate and promote the material and personal interests of the American people in foreign countries. Our diplomatic service adds a care for these same interests to its duty to protect and further America's political interests in the world.

The Department of State is charged with the duty of making the diplomatic and consular services of the greatest possible use to the Government and people. It is not generally realized how large a number of officers the State Department has under it in the service abroad, nor how vast and varied is the volume of its business. It has a personnel smaller and more poorly paid than that of the Foreign Office of Great Britain; but, besides being the American Foreign Office, it has a number of other duties superadded. The Secretary of State is keeper of the seal of the United States. He publishes the Federal laws of the land. Contentious matters between foreigners and the State sovereignties of the Union at times give rise to questions between those governments and the governments of foreign countries. All these have to be settled by elaborate domestic correspondence between the State Department and the Governors of our States, other departments, and various officials. So that functions corresponding in other countries to such offices as Keeper of the Seal, Chancellor of the Empire, etc., devolve upon the one Department. What with our new colonial possessions, it seems likely that the scope of the State Department's work may before long be still further extended. Yet the Department of State has a very small personnel and very small appropriations. The wonder is how its handful of officials acquit themselves so well in grappling with so enormous a volume of business. Certainly high praise is due them.

The fact is that all three components of the foreign service, that is, the Department of State and the diplomatic and consular services under it, were founded long ago on a small scale, just after our emergence from colonial days. They can never catch up with the country's present needs unless the will of the people express itself through Congress in the form of the required legislation, and Congress take a deeper interest in the work of the foreign service.

This brings me to one of the most distressing difficulties of our system. I refer to the lack of any constituted channel of communication for keeping Congress and the foreign service in sympathetic touch and effective co-operation. In other countries this undoubted need is supplied by a parliamentary secretary; or the Minister for Foreign Affairs speaks on the floor of the House. With us there are the President's occasional messages. Congress sometimes calls for correspondence when some question has become acute. Or, suppose a Senator or a Representative or an official of the State Department to be greatly interested in a piece of legislation touching foreign affairs, or in a treaty to be negotiated; he may by personal effort have a number of conversations which will greatly help both the Senate or Congress and the Department. But there is no sufficiently continuous keeping in touch between the Senate, the House, their committees, and the State Department; and the matter is too important not to be thoroughly provided for. Why should not an Assistant Secretary of State be charged with this duty?

Because of the heterogeneity of its business and the numerical inadequacy of its personnel, the State Department has been irreverently compared to the former Chinese Tsungli-Yamen. Our diplomatic and consular services have been, with less irreverence and more truth, called the "catch-as-catch-can sys-

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tem." There is enough truth in this pessimism to suggest that there is much room for improvement, and that the time is ripe and the way open for framing and putting into operation an ideal foreign service.

The Department needs a larger personnel to do its great intellectual work, and a more logical division of work. At present, in the Diplomatic Bureau the countries of the earth are apportioned for working purposes alphabetically. Yet it cannot be said that a knowledge of Cuba and Costa Rica is particularly useful to the men who must study the intricacies of Chinese policy. The Diplomatic Bureau should be divided into sections on some politico-geographical basis of reason. Several new bureaus and sections should be added. And, as said before, some official should be charged with keeping the Department in touch with the whole Congress on legislation respecting foreign affairs, and with the Senate on treaty matters.

The reform of first necessity is the extinction of the "spoils system" in filling offices in the foreign service. Here civil service is absolutely indispensable; but the application of it requires very careful working out.

Inefficiency in the foreign service may be divided, according to cause, into two classes. The first is inefficiency due to lack of natural qualifications, to inadequate professional education, and to want of experience. These are the vices of our unsystematized service. The zeal of a man trying to do a difficult thing quite new to him is sometimes its saving grace. The second is inefficiency arising from apathy and indifference. This is the vice of a thoroughgoing, closed civil service. Our problem is how to get the natural qualifications, the special education, and the experience, and at the same time to inspire zeal in the service.

Examinations will insure the special knowledge, a permanent service will supply the experience, promotion for meritorious work will secure the zeal. How are we to obtain the best men? Every college man knows that the men who pass the highest examinations are by no means always the ablest men in the class. Especially in diplomacy, a number of very intangible qualities are wanted. Tact, address, quick perception, an analytical mind, balance, and self-control are some of the natural qualities a good diplomatist has. These should therefore be sought in the young candidates for the service, and obviously they cannot be detected by a written examination.

A famous Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasized the indubitable importance of this personal element. It was his custom to have all the candidates who had successfully passed the diplomatic service examination call upon him next day. He then selected from among them the candidates to put into the service; and he is recorded as saying that his decision was based rather upon the impression each candidate personally made on him during the call than upon the relative merits of their examination papers.

Why should not the Secretary of State, perhaps assisted by a small board, select from among the successful candidates those to be put into the service after the examinations each year—the choice to be made after an informal and verbal examination of the men who had successfully passed the main written one?

Now that the days of the telegraph have made the envoy rather his Government's spokesman and advocate than its plenipotentiary statesman, some people too greatly minimize his duties. Surely it behooves us, as a practical people, to have for our Government the best possible spokesmen and advocates. In private life his personal abilities leave one advocate in the law to starve, while another's bring him a huge income. Success or failure in the Government's foreign affairs depends enormously—much more than people realize—upon the skill or the bungling of the Government's advocates abroad. And these are its diplomatic representatives.

For efficiency in a consular officer the personal factor presents somewhat fewer difficulties, yet it is questionable whether an examination should be the sole criterion for the admission of men eligible to all grades. Although the two services have a number of things in common,

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and what is true of the one is often to some extent true of the other, what next follows applies particularly to the diplomatic branch.

A charge which may be brought against an organized foreign service in which men spend their lives, except for occasional leaves of absence in going from post to post in foreign countries, is that they sometimes lose touch with the ideas of their own country. They are too long away from home. There is, however, a ready means of removing this danger.

The successful candidates for the service should first pass a year or more as clerks in the State Department, learning, from the big end, the practical work of their profession. These young men would be distributed in the bureaus and sections where the work would teach them most about their future duties, whether consular or diplomatic, and would be required to familiarize themselves with the general work of the Department.

Next, these clerks would be sent abroad to serve as attachés at embassies or legations, or as clerks in consulates, this depending upon which service they had been examined for and entered. Later, they would be transferred from one post to another, and, if they did good work, gradually promoted. In their respective services they would become third secretaries of embassy or legation, second secretaries, secretaries, and so on; and, in the consular service, higher grades of clerks, consular agents, vice and deputy consuls, consuls, consuls-general.

In connection with the regular diplomatic and consular service examinations there should be examinations for positions as student interpreters. A few years ago student interpreters were attached to our legation at Peking, and that was an admirable innovation. It should be extended, however, at least to our legation in Japan, and perhaps also to that in Turkey. The written language is practically the same in China, Japan, and Korea. These student interpreters, after an apprenticeship in the State Department, would be sent out and attached to the legations in the Far East. There they would spend several years in mastering the difficulties of the Oriental languages. After that they would be prepared to join the staffs of the consulates in China, Japan, and Korea as clerks, and so enter on a career in the Oriental consular service. The interpreters of our legations and their assistants would also be drawn from this body.

Now we come to the above-mentioned safeguard against a tendency to what may be loosely called expatriation. The plan which follows is most of all desirable because of the great benefits it carries with it.

It is difficult to gainsay that a man can do better work in the service abroad if he has first served in the Department at Washington. It also seems evident that it would be useful to have in the Department men who had made recent special studies of the political and trade conditions in various foreign countries. The suggestion, then, is that a mobility and interchange of posts be established, to a certain extent, between the Department of State and the diplomatic service, and perhaps also, in certain bureaus and sections, between the Department and the consular service. A parity of grade could be fixed between the posts in the Department and the posts abroad. For example, the different grades of clerks, the chiefs of section, the chiefs of bureau, and the assistant secretaries might correspond to attachés, to grades of secretaries of embassy or legation, to ministers resident, and to ministers plenipotentiary. A limited shifting between the two ends of the service could be ordered from time to time by the Secretary of State. Among other things, this system would give to the heads of the service a more intimate knowledge of the abilities of their personnel; and it is safe to say that in the long run it would be of great use to the Department and benefit to the diplomatic service.

Fairly frequent shifting between posts abroad is also desirable, and transfers should as far as possible invariably accompany promotions. For considerations which, if somewhat abstruse, are none the less cogent, it is best that a secretary should be transferred when promoted rather than be promoted to be minister at the same post. The two

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official characters of minister and secretary, and the subtle relations attaching to them, are different. Each position occupies a certain place in the mind of the local official circle; and these associations are not to be suddenly thrown off or assumed. An important reason why three or four years is generally long enough to leave a man at the same post is that he almost inevitably becomes somewhat "stale." His observation becomes less keen. Also, at difficult posts an energetic representative is not unlikely to wear out his welcome and so lose much of his usefulness. Furthermore, frequent transfer gives wider experience and so increases efficiency. With this system each official would be commissioned by the President in a particular grade, and the Secretary of State would designate, from time to time, the post he should fill. From every point of view, a more mobile diplomatic service, including limited interchange to the State Department, has much to recommend it.

A closed service, in which a man has only to live in order to be steadily promoted and finally retired with a pension, tends to induce apathy. What we want is a service in which every man who gives his best years and energies to the work will be sure of a life career, and, at the end of his career, a pension. Only those who do signally fine work should expect to be rewarded with ultimate promotion to the highest grades. In this way justice is meted to faithful service and a reward is in store for brilliant service.

The best pension system would probably be to make retirement optional after, say, twenty-five years' service, with a pension computed on the salary of the grade from which the officer retired. The pension could be increased proportionally to the excess of the period of service rendered over twenty-five years. In private life it is deemed a hard lot when a man who has given the best twenty-five or thirty years of his life to a business or profession cannot have accumulated enough to support him during his declining years. And if the foreign service is to have the good men it needs, their livelihood must not be made too precarious.

Nor would it be necessary to have an absolutely closed service. There is every reason why, with an organized service, the President should still have the power to appoint an ambassador or Minister from outside the diplomatic service. The pre-eminent talents and conspicuous fitness of some countryman of ours, or the special nature of some mission to be carried out, may at times point unmistakably to such a selection.

Our ambassadors and ministers receive relatively small pay and no allowances worth mentioning, and are not provided with houses. Their colleagues representing other Powers receive generally better pay, besides funds for the costly and necessary outlays for "representation," and permanent buildings owned by their governments, in which to reside during their missions. Every truly democratic American should be shocked to realize that, because of our penury in this matter, only very rich men can possibly uphold the dignity of the United States at certain capitals. The very undemocratic result is that men of moderate fortune, however talented, cannot be appointed to, nor could they afford to accept, those posts.

American travelers are constantly chagrined to find their legations and consulates abroad housed in a haphazard manner, comparing very unfavorably with those of other countries. Our Government owns legation buildings only at Tokyo, Peking, Seoul, and Bangkok. The ownership of these was practically forced upon us by the peculiar conditions existing in those countries. Similarly, we possess a few rather inferior consular premises. Let us see what other countries do—countries which place importance on foreign policy and its corollary, foreign commerce, as, for example, Germany and Great Britain. In every capital, in every port or commercial center, they aim to have the eye met by an embassy or legation or a consulate—substantial, permanent, and architecturally good—which stands in a foreign land as a reminder of the dignity, the strength, and the enterprise of the country whose flag flies over it. And then one finds (if, indeed, one can succeed in finding them) the American embassy

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or legation, shabby or creditable, according to the purse and generosity of the representative, and the consulate sometimes a dusty second floor in some back street. Is this what the American people want?

I have outlined a number of points for a reorganization which I believe would be entirely practical and feasible, and would vastly ameliorate the service. There are many minor reforms which can hardly be taken up with any enthusiasm while the service is left in its present unsettled condition.

A number of Senators and Representatives have done hard work and have introduced bills which it was hoped would place the service on a sound footing. But the ideal foreign service for which the way is now open needs for its accomplishment the support of an active, not passive, public opinion; and it needs the co-operation of the Senators and Representatives interested with the President and the Secretary of State, and with some of those who have studied the service from within. The foreign services of all countries must be studied and examined. What is good must be adopted, or what is better must be devised. Then will a bill be framed and passed which will give us the efficient foreign service that a great commercial world power like the United States has the right and the obligation to possess.

Tokyo, Japan, August, 1905.

THE PRINCIPLES OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

BY ROBERT DONALD

Editor of the "Municipal Year Book," etc.

SHOULD a municipal corporation control the communal services of the people it represents? If so, in what manner and to what extent? Should the control be partial, by regulation, or complete, by operation? What are the chief considerations which should guide a city's action? What are the main principles upon which the system of municipal ownership rests? These and other questions have now to be considered by students of city government. The rapid growth of cities, and the still faster development of social needs in every community, create new problems and call for new methods of administration. Government is established in cities, as in States, to maintain order and to promote the well-being of the citizens; but a city or smaller urban aggregation has its own problems, brought about by the close community of interests which exists among its people. Collective action has become inevitable, and the chief municipal question of the day is, to what extent should the municipality regulate the services which are elemental necessities in every civilized community?

I.

City public services may be roughly divided into three main classes.

First, we have those services which are intended to maintain order and prevent crime; look after the health of the people; enforce sanitary regulations; protect the people as consumers in cases where they are not able to protect themselves, such as by checking the adulteration of food, checking weights and measures, etc. Under the same head come the police and law departments; the regulation of traffic; the management of the streets; the control of buildings; protection against fire; maintenance of parks and pleasure grounds with facilities for recreation, and the provision of education. These protective and administrative services vary in extent, according to the needs of the community and the views of the local governing authorities; but they are all duties which naturally fall on public authorities; otherwise they would either not be done at all, or only very inefficiently carried out. They are services which are maintained by taxation, not carried on for profit.

The next class of civic duties includes

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services which may be made remunerative, but not necessarily with advantage to the people; such as water supply, public baths, and garbage and sewage disposal. They are services of public utility which are also necessities, and some very good reasons must be found why they should be left in the region of private trade.

The third class of services include undertakings which are not absolutely essential to every individual, but at the same time are required for the comfort and well-being of the community as a whole. These are works which are remunerative, or should be so, and are therefore considered by many economists to be outside the legitimate functions of governing authorities, and belong to the sphere of private enterprise. I refer to such undertakings as gas and electricity supplies, street railways, the provision of hydraulic power, and telephones.

II.

These services cannot be established without the municipality having much to do with them. They must use the public streets for mains and wires, and, in the case of tramways, for rails. They cannot carry on their work without disturbing the traffic and interfering with public convenience. Moreover, the municipality is one of the chief consumers of artificial light. These factors show that communal industries cannot be established without co-operation in some way with the local governing authorities. Another element which brings them still nearer the sphere of municipal functions is that they are, in their nature, monopolies. It is not to the advantage of the public that there should be rival competitive electricity and gas supplies in every street, and it is almost impossible to have competitive street railways. Where competitive services of these kinds have been established they have existed only for short periods. The inevitable tendency is toward consolidation, and monopolies are established. Obviously, it is in the interest of the citizens as users that there should be no wasted capital sunk in duplicating mains which are not necessary, or in establishing superfluous works, as the capital has to bear interest or return a dividend obtained by imposing high rates and charges.

It is because these services become in the end monopolies, and are always profitable, that capitalists are so anxious to control them. We do not find that capitalists and contractors are anxious to compete for the management of the unremunerative services, such as disposal of sewage or collection of garbage, where the contract would be allotted to the one who made the highest offer, and where the opportunity of profit would be small. At one time the collection of cities' waste—garbage, refuse, street-sweepings, dust, etc.—was a profitable enterprise. In many English cities contractors were ready to collect the material and pay for it, in order to use it for brick-making. Others were ready to cart it away for filling up waste land. For many years, however, these departments of municipal housekeeping have ceased to provide the elements of profit. It is at the option of the municipality whether it will employ contractors to collect and cart its wastes, or do it by direct employment. In mediæval times every citizen was his own scavenger; but under modern conditions garbage and refuse can be economically removed only by an organized system under one authority. The object can be best attained, for many reasons, by the city keeping the work entirely in its own control. A contractor who would undertake the cleaning of the streets or the collection of garbage would always have in view the making of profit, while the main purpose to be served is efficient cleanliness. Clean streets improve the appearance and health of a city and add to its attractiveness. Experience has shown that the watering of streets, scavenging, and the collection of refuse can best be done by a department of the city service. In British cities, when scavenging and refuse collection were carried out by contractors, the employees were paid only nominal wages, and levied blackmail on householders, who were accordingly compelled to pay for the same service twice over, having done so first in their local taxes.

The advances made in the utilization

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of waste in recent years enables a municipality to dispose of its garbage in many ways. There are only a few places which have waste lands in which to dump it, or which can drop it into the sea—unprofitable means of disposal. Garbage is now used on municipal farms; it is cremated, the fine dust is used for concrete-making, the clinker is crushed for road-making, and used for other purposes. The consumption of garbage in refuse destructors was soon found to create another waste product—namely, heat. That heat is now utilized for various purposes, such as providing steam for disinfecting stations connected with the sanitary department, for heating water for baths, and for raising steam for electric generating stations. Having the matter in its own hands, the municipality can accumulate all the garbage from other departments, from markets, slaughter-houses, etc., and put it to the most economical advantage. For example, the city of Manchester has one central department to which are sent all house, trade, and street refuse, the garbage from the markets, and the offal and wastes from the slaughter-houses. The department owns and works two large farms, where matter of manurial value is utilized. It is a great manufacturing establishment, making soap, oil, tallow, etc. It has workshops in which it builds the railroad wagons for carrying manure to its estate; it makes vans, bricks, and implements used in the department. It employs two thousand men, and its income from sales amounts to $250,000 a year.

Glasgow gives another example of the profitable utilization of refuse and garbage by a central city department. The garbage is all sifted, some burned in destructors, refuse from which goes to making mortar or concrete. It owns farms which it has reclaimed from bogland, and sells its surplus manure to farmers in the counties surrounding Glasgow, and employs a thousand railway wagons in distributing its produce.

Under no system of contracting could the same economical disposal be possible. The chief objects of the City Council in all matters of municipal housekeeping are to combine cleanliness and efficiency with the profitable utilization of waste products. Much has yet to be done before we get the profitable deodorization of sewage, which too often now pollutes rivers; but a great deal of progress has been made in this direction by the using of sewage in connection with irrigation farms, and for other purposes.

Public baths are rarely regarded when municipally owned as commercial institutions, and if they are they fail to fill their proper function, which is to provide opportunities for healthy service and cleanliness to the poor, who have no baths in their own homes. Baths are also necessary for instructing schoolchildren in swimming. The more popular baths are made, the more useful they become, and there should be in every community a certain number of free baths for the poor and for the young. Fair charges are rightly imposed for the use of Turkish, Russian, and other special baths, now generally attached to municipal establishments.

Public wash-houses and laundries are established in the interests of the health and comfort of the poor in tenements where laundry facilities are inadequate, but are not generally necessary, as private enterprise provides adequate facilities.

Markets are among the oldest municipal institutions in the world. Fairs and markets originally occupied the public streets and had to be regulated by the governing authority. City ownership of markets provides consumers with the best and cheapest means of distributing food, curtails intermediary profits, and makes inspection to check quality and weight easy.

London is one of the few large cities which still suffers the inconvenience inseparable from the private ownership of markets. Covent Garden market, the chief distributive center for fruit and vegetables, is the property of the Duke of Bedford. Under an ancient charter, the dead hand also punishes modern London, passing down to it the private ownership of the chief East End market. Lord Portman does not consider his dignity impaired by the possession of a potato market. The meat markets in London are munici-

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pal, but are limited almost entirely to wholesale business; and the same applies to the fish market, which belongs to the municipal corporation of the old city. Food is artificially increased in price by the inadequate market system and the profits of middlemen.

In Paris, on the other hand, a model market system exists, the effect of which is to distribute food cheaply among the people and to lower the difference in price between the producers and consumers. There are great central "halles" for wholesale business, and over sixty retail markets—many of them covered—for retail trade. All these markets are municipal possessions.

Slaughter-houses are akin to markets, and give a better illustration of the advantages of municipal ownership. The principles in view are not precisely the same. The chief aim of ownership in the case of slaughter-houses is the protection of the people's health. Markets are generally made self-supporting and profitable; the hygienic advantages of public slaughter-houses outweigh the commercial. Only under a system of centralized slaughter-houses can meat be properly inspected. Take London and Berlin by way of illustration and contrast. In London there are over a hundred privately owned slaughter-houses, scattered about in the midst of private dwelling-houses in buildings ill adapted for the purpose. Efficient inspection cannot be carried out, cold storage does not exist, the economical utilization of offal is impossible. Meat is conveyed about the streets from the numerous slaughter-houses in open carts. In Berlin, on the other hand, there is one municipal slaughter-house for the whole of the city. A staff of trained veterinary surgeons are attached to it, who examine the animals before they are killed, and subject the meat to microscopical examination before it is offered for sale. It has to be stamped as sound before it can be put on the market; it can be conveyed only in specially built and covered meat carts; adequate cold storage is provided; all the offal and wastes are properly utilized in a way which is possible only at a large establishment.

Water supply, it is generally recognized, should not be subject to the exigencies of profit-making for stockholders. The principle involved is nothing less than the health of the whole community; but where corporations own water supplies, as they did in London until recently, it was only when the city was threatened by a water famine that they could be dislodged, and they were only got rid of by the payment of double their capital expenditure, so that the future municipal supply has an inflated capital.

III.

I have now reviewed the attitude which advocates of municipal ownership assume towards the least industrial and commercial of communal undertakings. I will now deal with the more industrial, which raise serious contentions.

What are the principles which should guide municipal action with regard to the larger and more profitable services, including street railways, electricity and gas supplies, telephones, etc.?

The operations of these services cannot, on any intelligent principle, be left to free trade. Almost every American city has started by having several street railway corporations, and more than one electric or gas corporation; but the irresistible tendency has been for absorptions and amalgamation to take place until a monopoly has been established—a clear indication that the services come within the domain of natural monopolies. When, however, monopoly is reached through the stress of competition and the operations of graft, the undertakings are greatly overweighted with capital and burdened and drained by vested interests, progress is retarded, and cheap rates made impossible. The obvious conclusion is that public lighting services which are monopolistic in character should be kept in control by the municipality. It should not allow privileges which the community creates to pass beyond its power.

There is little diffcrence between the principles involved, whether the public service franchise is for gas, electricity, or street railways. Compensation can be granted to the city for gas supplies on two systems: a tax per cubic meter of gas sold, as in Paris and German cities, in which case the money goes to the

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municipal exchequer and insures the city getting a share in the profits; or the enforcement of a sliding scale, the operation of which enables the corporation to increase its dividend as it lowers its price—a system which enables the consumer to benefit.

The same systems could be applied to electricity supply. Street railway corporations operating under franchise can be made to pay fees either through a percentage of gross receipts or in some other way.

It is quite feasible and practical for a city in various ways to grant public service franchises, but the system has drawbacks. Social interests enter very largely into the operation of all city services. It is in the interest of the community that light should be as cheap as possible to the poor, and it helps the police to have the streets well lighted. Efficient and cheap transportation has an important influence on health, and promotes well-being. Corporations which exist solely for making profits will not, as a rule, risk a fall in their dividends in order to cheapen a commodity or popularize a service. The corporations have always an eye on the end of the franchise period. They regulate their operations accordingly. They cease to introduce new methods, they neglect adequate maintenance, they allow their plant to become dilapidated; and naturally so, as the future is uncertain, and they want recoupment and profit.

From a theoretical point of view—assuming for the moment that there are no administrative difficulties—let us see how complete municipal ownership and operation would work. Take street railways. The City Council owns the railroad laid down in its own streets. It can regulate the time of construction so as to be least inconvenient to the people. The routes would be planned also in conjunction with street improvements, clearing of slums, and rehousing the poor. A corporation holding a limited franchise has no interest in the permanent development of a suburb.

The City Council would always adopt the best systems of transportation, as it will live to reap the benefit. It would have some regard to the appearance of its cars. It would be a model employer. Fair wages would be given and reasonable hours observed. Its car conductors would be provided with neat uniforms. They would be smart and civil. The municipality would study the needs of special classes. For instance, there would be cheap cars for workmen, morning and evening. There would be special services to artisan colonies in the suburbs, to parks and pleasure grounds. The citizens would be made to feel in every way that the cars were their cars, and that every cent they paid would go towards the improvement and development of their own co-operative property. A municipal car service can be made an excellent means for stimulating civic patriotism.

Then the municipal car system would dovetail into the work of other departments. The cars would be run at night to collect city garbage, market produce, etc., and the day load of electricity required for street railways would be welcomed by the city electricity department.

All these features of a municipal street railway system, which I say are possible, exist in British and Continental cities. But we can imagine a publicly owned street railway service and subways going much further. The system of transportation in a city is an essential element in its life. The better it is, the more it aids business, the more it adds to social amenities.

In some British cities the average fare is a little over one cent. It is only a step further to socialize the street railways as we have socialized the highways, bridges, and ferries (for the use of which in former years tolls were levied), and introduce free transportation—that is, free in the sense that the use of the streets, maintained out of local taxation, is free, and the use of elevators in high buildings (paid for in the rent of the rooms) is free. I only refer to the Utopia of free travel to emphasize the difference between private and municipal operation of street railways. While it is the aim of all cities of which I know to make their municipal railways self-sustaining and profitable, there are cases where a city deliberately incurs a money loss for the

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sake of a social benefit. Huddersfield, a large manufacturing city in Yorkshire, established tramways because companies refused to do so, and ran them for years at a loss, for the general benefit to the community. The steep gradients and hilly streets which the cars had to climb made horse and steam traction both unprofitable, but the conformation of the site made transportation facilities all the more necessary. Electric traction has now turned the city car system into a profitable undertaking. In Cologne, Düsseldorf, and other cities, street railways are run several miles beyond their borders to municipal forests at such low fares that loss is incurred.

The same principles of social benefit arising from cheapness of service should operate in the case of electricity and gas supplies. Both services under municipal ownership can be managed on parallel lines by different committees. Under the Scottish municipal code, municipalities are precluded from making profit. The surplus is devoted to reducing charges and improving the services. This system is not yet general, as municipalities prefer to manage their undertakings so as to give a commercial instead of or in addition to a social profit. A commercial profit means that the surplus left after meeting all payments for maintenance, depreciation, interest, redemption charges, etc., is handed over to the relief of local taxation—thus benefiting all taxpayers. When the other system is adopted, the benefit in the form of a cheaper service is confined to consumers. The contrast between the two systems is most striking in the case of street railways in London. In the wealthy and crowded financial center of London and in the rich West End districts tramways are not permitted, yet the rich taxpayers in these areas get a share of relief which comes from the pennies of the poor who use the tramways in other quarters of the metropolis.

Hundreds of municipalities in Great Britain and in Continental Europe own and manage efficiently both gas and electricity undertakings. One necessary condition for cheapness of production is for the municipality to supply all the city, and not merely produce gas or generate electricity for its own requirements. It is economically wasteful, for instance, for the city of Chicago to distribute electricity all over the city only to light the street lamps.

In Continental Europe the franchise system has existed both as regards gas and electricity, although it is now being discontinued. It did not give low charges and did not make for efficiency. The sole object of the concessionary corporation is to reap the richest harvest it can during the period of the franchise, without regard to the future of the undertaking or of the city's needs. In Great Britain the franchise system was adopted for electricity supply. All companies were limited by statute to forty-two years, at the end of which period the municipality takes possession on payment of "the then value" of the plant, without compensation for good will or displacement. This system retarded development so that most of the companies have been bought up long before the franchise expired, receiving sometimes double their capital expenditure. And it has paid the community to give this compensation in order to develop the business and lower the charges.

Municipal ownership in Great Britain has been more enterprising than corporation rule; it has always considered the interests of the whole community, and has invariably meant lower charges for consumers.

The same principles of public utility which apply to street railways, gas or electricity supplies are applicable to telephones and the distribution of hydraulic power, or any other service which is monopolistic in character. Telephones, while managed successfully by municipalities in England, Norway, Sweden, and Holland, present some difficulties. Localization is not desirable and isolation is impossible. There should be only one telephone system in order to have the best facilities for intercommunication. The telephone service works most smoothly and answers public needs best in European countries where it is a State monopoly under the post-office. With the telegraph system a State monop-

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oly, as is the case throughout Europe, it is an anomaly to have the telephones under separate management.

IV.

The general principles of municipal ownership will probably find ready acceptance as theories of civic policy, but what about their practical application? It will be pointed out as an initial material difficulty that street railway systems, gas and electricity supplies, cannot be limited by city boundaries. They should serve many areas governed by different authorities. Provided all these authorities are animated by the same ideas of civic policy, the difficulties disappear; working arrangements mutually beneficial are entered into, or joint services are established, and parochialism gives place to a wider civic patriotism, which recognizes larger communal interests. As a matter of fact, the large cities in England serve their smaller neighbors with water and gas, and are now beginning to do so more and more with street railways and electricity.

The most powerful and convincing arguments urged against municipal ownership are not, however, advanced on practical but on moral and political grounds. Let the municipality extend its activities and you enlarge the opportunities for patronage. Add to the number of public employees and you swell the power of the party boss. Give the municipality more money to spend in contracts and supplies and you widen the doors for grafters. Municipal ownership, in fact, means more politics, more corruption, more dishonesty in public life, and more power in all elements which degrade a city and demoralize a people. These are the last words, the final crushing arguments, of the anti-municipalists. They apply only if we grant one large assumption and make a humiliating confession. If we take it for granted that the evil elements in a community are permanent, that corruption will forever triumph, that politicians will more and more make public plunder their business, that the sense of citizenship and the moral conscience of the Nation will continue to wither and fade, then the case against municipal ownership is complete, just as it is against every form of good government.

If, on the other hand, we have still faith in the moral regeneration of the people, still believe that purity in politics and public life is possible, then municipal ownership is the greatest and final means of reform. It is radical; it goes to the root of the matter and gets rid of the mainspring of corruption. Grafters, corrupt politicians, and all the other parasites who now live by plunder could not exist if there were no franchises to sell, no contracts to give out. Let the cities keep their franchises, operate municipally their undertakings, and the chief source of corruption and the means of temptation will disappear. So long as corporations and contractors are mixed up in city administration so long will the tempter be there, and grit will interfere with the smooth working of the municipal machinery.

But, it may be urged, admitting that one evil is eradicated, others are more strongly intrenched. The patronage which falls to the City Council is increased and the power of the city employee is greater—both dangers from which we now suffer. Having extinguished the tempter, the next step is the moralization of the city councilor and the purification of the civil service—neither impossible reforms. The city councilor has long since been discovered in Germany and Great Britain who is prepared to serve his city without any ulterior motive—ready to give his ability and his time freely and honestly to the service of the people. He is making his influence felt in the United States; and without this public-spirited servant, animated by a sense of citizenship, who subordinates all selfish aims, municipal ownership cannot succeed.

Its success also means that a permanent civil service for cities must be organized above party and solely on merit, which only involves an extension of the system which has been introduced successfully in various departments of the United States Government.

While this political danger from the city's employees is always heard of, nothing is said of the much more serious influence of the corporation directors,

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lawyers, and stockholders. The political dangers feared from an army of municipal employees have never yet been apparrent in British cities. To begin with, the workers benefit doubly by municipal ownership—they share in its general advantages and receive just treatment, for a municipality must always be a model employer. Then the interests of the city's employees are divergent. Workers in various departments, while having the same employer, have not common interests. Combination among all is not practicable. In the most developed of British cities, where every public utility service has been municipalized, the municipal employees have not proved a serious factor at election times, partly from the reason that they are too good citizens to attempt a systematic and combined campaign which would lead to reaction, and also partly from the fact that a large proportion of them live outside the borders of the municipality which they serve. Were combined action ever attempted against a common municipal employer, such a foolish proceeding would lead to the drastic remedy of disfranchisement, just as the civil servants in Washington are deprived of their votes, although not for the same reason. The interests and well-being of the whole body of citizens would always preponderate over the action of the city's employees, who must always be a comparatively insignificant minority.

V.

There are those who will admit the whole of these premises, but still only regard the system as an ideal to be reached in the far future. Such would argue that the time is not now opportune; we must go through a transition period; we could not get honest officials; we could not trust the people yet; they do not know how to use their votes. The enemies of reform always fly to distrust of the people. The same reasons were advanced for withholding votes from agricultural laborers in England. They would not, it was said, know how to use them. They could not be trusted. People will never learn how to use political privileges until they get them, and, similarly, people will never know how to run municipalities under municipal ownership until they get the opportunity. There will at first be a period of stress, trial, and turmoil, when loyalty to the people's cause will be strained, when the old system will strive hard for mastery. This experience is gone through before all great reforms are firmly established, and has been successfully weathered by loyal service and steadfast courage.

Municipal ownership, it should be borne in mind, withdraws from public life the influence of the stockholder, who, when he goes to the poll, has conflicting aims to consider—his position as a citizen and his interest as a stockholder. When the city keeps its franchise and operates its undertakings, it becomes an industrial commonwealth, as far as public works are considered, with all the citizens as its stockholders. Once the barrier is past, once the new civic régime is inaugurated, the citizens will not be so short-sighted as to damage their own property. Those of them who hold city stock, bearing its moderate but certain return, will not like its value depreciated. They will prefer to see their city's credit stand well in the market. All other citizens are also partners in the co-operative undertakings which they use themselves or derive benefit from. As good citizens they will do nothing which is likely to impair the efficiency of their co-operative enterprises. Rather they will seek to develop them within their legitimate sphere, and widen the benefits which they confer on the people.

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A SETTLEMENT FOR THE NEGLECTED RICH

BY A MEMBER OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

NO one can engage in work for social betterment in New York without being impressed with the need of some form of missionary or humane effort for the benefit of the neglected rich. True benevolence is not exclusive. It is not limited by social, racial, or sectarian considerations. It distinguishes between men and the conditions which surround and hamper them. If one has had the misfortune to be born rich or to acquire riches, why should that exclude him from the pale of human sympathy or from the operation of those forces which are necessary for his humanization?

I do not find in any directory of the charitable or social settlements of New York any mention of our Settlement. I am not surprised at this. Its work has been done quietly and without the necessity of public appeal. Whatever else this Settlement lacks, it has no lack of money. It was organized, indeed, to secure for the neglected rich certain things which money cannot buy and to establish certain relations which money does not determine. Its prime object is to establish a higher standard of living. It would have been a mistake, therefore, to establish it on a gold or silver standard. The settlements on the East and West Sides of New York have shown that a splendid type of humanity can be developed under the limitations of poverty, and the object of the Settlement in the rich quarter is to show that a splendid type of humanity may likewise be developed under the limitations of wealth.

Another reason for its comparative obscurity is that there is already too much ostentation in social life, and this Settlement, if it stands for anything, stands for an unpretentious reality. One of its fundamental mottoes is, *Esse quam videri*. Reality is a friend of simplicity. Ostentation is by no means confined to the rich, but it thrives among them because it is much easier to convert money into display than to change it into character, and because many people believe that money is made for just this thing. The new Settlement is, therefore, anything but loud. It avoids self-proclamation. I write this article on the condition that you will not ask me to tell just where the Settlement may be found. Suffice it to say, it is in a quarter where its influence seemed most needed. There was no trouble in getting the necessary building, for there are not a few rich people who are thoroughly alive to the condition of their wealthy neighbors. Nor was it difficult to get social workers, for there are many people on the East Side who are as willing to help the neglected rich as they are willing to be helped by them.

The new Settlement has been named the Half-Way House, not because things are done here by halves, but because here one half of the city is teaching the other half how to live. If the settlements in the poor districts are of great value in bringing the poor into neighborhood with intelligent and friendly coworkers, why should not a Fifth Avenue settlement be of equal value in bringing the neglected rich into friendly relation with the intelligent poor?

A careful study of the population of New York will show that the intellectual center is not on Fifth Avenue, but on the East Side. What we are trying to do is, by a selective process, to get some of the teeming intellectual activity of that side to leaven the sluggish intellectual life of what, by conventional and unconscious satire, is called the "Best Society." The establishment of study classes of every kind and variety was one of the first steps. History, literature, geography, science, philosophy, languages, are taught, and people who have been trying to banish the *ennui* of life by the monotony of bridge whist are

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beginning to learn that there are other forms of intellectual resource. Already, I am told, the influence of the new intellectual spur is felt in a stimulated sale of standard works in the book-stores. Men who have spent large sums of money for show libraries are even beginning to read them. Some of the members of our clubs have told me that they did not dream what a wealth of learning could be found on the East Side for the education of the needy rich, till they began to come to the Half-Way Settlement. Some of the best of these teachers are found in the Jewish population. They are men of opulent learning and intellect, who have been driven from their homes in the Old World and are earning but a precarious living in the New. I am wondering what some of the needy rich would do if reduced to similar extremities in a foreign land. Could they live on a few cents a day, and would they be found, while standing behind a push-cart on the street, reading the Ethics of Spinoza in Hebrew, or in any other language? The effect upon our rich beneficiaries has been excellent. They are learning to recognize their superiors. People whom they had looked down upon they now look up to.

One of the fundamental principles of the Half-Way Settlement is that everybody who is not defective by birth should be of some use to society. We do not put a too literal emphasis upon the word "use." We recognize that some people and some things are useful to society because they are ornamental. But what shall we say of people who are neither useful nor ornamental? These are the hardest cases we have to deal with among the neglected rich. They are what we call our "non-support cases." There are young men and young women who have grown to manhood and womanhood without learning how to support themselves or how to support others. They have been supported by their fathers and grandfathers. They have neither learned how to make money nor how to spend it wisely. They live lives of self-indulgent leisure. Idleness, whether among rich or poor, is the mother of vice. If such men lived on the East Side, we should call them "bums" or "vagrants;" the fact that they live in elegant residences forbids the application of any such term to the rich loafer. He is secure in his respectability because, though he has not earned it, it has been bought for him. The legal definition of a vagrant is "a person who has no visible means of support." This definition would not apply to the rich tramp. The fault with him is that he has no means of support which are *not* visible. He has no moral or intellectual resources. He has become thoroughly materialized, enameled in his wealth. It is hard to find the man beneath all this armor of gold and silver; the thing seems either stuffed or hollow, like the armored knights in the European museums. "Very good sheathing," you say, "but where is the man?" Now, what the Half-Way Settlement has shown is that there is often excellent material for manhood under all this junk, if you can only get at it. We are not to be too severe with the poor tramp or the rich tramp; the difference between them is a difference of circumstances. Each has been the victim of a false education. They have not been trained into the duty or the joy of work. The rich tramp has been furnished by his parents with a free pass; he rides on a Pullman car; the poor tramp rides on the truck beneath. A different course of education might have changed entirely the lives of these men. I am often more hopeful of the rich tramp than of the poor one. All that the rich one needs in many cases is to lose his fortune, and then he shows of what splendid stuff he is made; he loses the jewels his grandfather left him, but he finds the Shakespearean jewel in adversity. As for the poor tramp, he has adjusted himself to adversity already, and if he had a fortune bequeathed to him, he would simply take life a little more comfortably; he would ride inside the Pullman instead of on the truck.

It is part of the work of the Half-Way Settlement to teach the art of living. This many of the neglected rich have never learned. While some of them live a life of incessant pleasure, others have an unrestrained mania for work, and have never acquired the art of enjoying life as they go along, except as they find

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enjoyment in their business. Hence their lives are narrow in their scope. They never take any vacation, and would not know what to do with it if they did. Hence we have started a Vacation School to teach some of our overworked millionaires that vacations are indispensable, and how to use them. Some of our neighbors have found trips to Europe rather wearisome, because they have had no preparation for visiting the countries in which they have traveled, and know nothing of art, literature, or the history of these countries, and less of the languages. For this purpose we have established what we call East Side Fellowships. Under the terms of these fellowships persons who are approved by the Advisory Board may go over to selected families on the East Side and live with them for from six to twelve months to acquire the languages, while taking courses of collateral instruction at the Art Museum and elsewhere.

The East Side is not without its æsthetic influence, too. A single instance will illustrate. The truckmen and teamsters do not dock their horses' tails. They know that during fly time these tails may be very useful to the animal, and what does it matter if occasionally the horse gets his tail over the reins and undertakes to drive himself? Laws do not need to be passed to deter their owners from cutting off their tails; they respect nature. Fashion, not nature, is the god of the neglected rich, and so they mutilate their horses for the sake of appearances. Now, in the Half-Way Settlement we have not tried to combat this merely by any humanitarian, equitable, or equitant argument; we have approached the problem from another aspect. We have had some Greeks from Roosevelt Street give a few lectures with stereopticon illustrations on Greek art. One of the lectures was entitled "A Greek Horse Show." The illustrations were nearly all taken from the frieze of the Parthenon. Our lecturer incidentally remarked that when the Greeks held a horse show they went there to see the horses, and he called attention to the fact that none of the Parthenon horses were docked. No work of art mutilated in that way could have been knocked down to a Greek buyer; on the contrary, they would have promptly knocked down the artist, were he Phidias or Praxiteles, who should have attempted such a travesty. Some of our neighbors have begun to see that the custom is not æsthetic, and that it is even ridiculous. I predict that ere long at the New York Horse Show no horse which does not conform to the Parthenon ideal will take a prize, and I am confident that more people will go to the show to look at the horses.

As in art, so in music, the East Side has a great deal to teach the neglected rich. It is there that we find great musical enthusiasm and deep musical feeling. We are bringing some of this into our Settlement. To the credit of the neglected rich let it be said that music is highly fashionable; it is their misfortune that to a large number it is nothing more. Highly dressed, or but partially dressed, women go to the concerts or opera because they would lose social caste if they did not. Young ladies learn to drum on the piano because they are expected to, and others assume to sing. But no one who has not been in touch with the neglected rich can really fathom the denseness of their ignorance on the subject of music. A friend of the Settlement found a young lady, the other day, who had been taking lessons for three or four years in singing, who had not the slightest idea of the formation of the minor scale. One of the most generous of American millionaires has done splendid work in fostering music in the metropolis. He is the president of the Philharmonic and of the Oratorio Societies, and we are wondering if Mr. Carnegie will not suggest to us some way in which the dense ignorance of this zone may be still further dissipated.

One of the most important of our classes is that on Home-making. Some of our millionaire neighbors have palaces, but not homes. We are busy now in taking a census of the homeless rich. I mean the people who have every *thing* out of which to make a sumptuous home, except the most essential element of all. Happiness is not a *thing*, and a home cannot be made out of *things*; happiness

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is experience, fruition, and there can be no happiness without *love*. I know of nothing more pathetic than these loveless palaces—the mere outward shell of a home, but with no heart, no love, in them. Solomon was right—Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith. The only thing more terrible than riches without love is poverty without love.

One of the frequent misfortunes of the rich is that they lose too much of the simple beautiful pleasures of domesticity. It is hard to maintain simplicity in a palace. The whole standard of living is apt to be changed, and men lose the happiness which comes from the round of simple enjoyments, as well as still deeper sources of happiness. Mothers, because they are rich enough to hire nurses, yield to the fashion of turning their children over to a nurse or a governess, instead of taking care of them themselves. The result is that the child loses its mother and the mother loses her child. Sad it is to think of the orphaned children whose parents are not dead, but who have no time to learn to know their own offspring. Our committee has therefore formed a Mothers' Baby Club, the object of which is to make mothers acquainted with their children. We encourage them to nurse their own babies when physically able, to go out with them in the park and push the baby-carriage themselves, instead of intrusting them to a maid. One of the pleasantest sights in our neighborhood now is to see fathers and mothers going out with their children, the man carrying the baby, and having a little picnic in the park by themselves, just as if they were not outrageously rich. Mothers have told me that they never dreamed it was so delightful to nurse their own children and to care for them themselves instead of committing them to paid nursery-maids.

I have no space to tell of our classes in ethics and good government. Some of the discussions as to the ethics of business have been greatly stimulated by recent events. As a practical result of ethical discussion I am told that some of our rich women are becoming more prompt in paying their dressmakers' bills. Subjects of hot discussion have been, What is the relation of life insurance to benevolence? and What should be the salaries of missionaries? Another subject is, What is the ethical relation of gambling in high life to gambling in low life, between bridge whist on Fifth Avenue and craps on the East Side? Some members of the Plato Club from Henry Street have also introduced the question with which Plato's Republic opens, whether men who simply pay their debts fulfill all the conditions of justice. As for good government classes, I hope that eventually we can say that there is as much enthusiasm in civic affairs in our neighborhood as there is on the East Side.

The Half-Way Settlement has been established but a little while. It is too soon to count up results. Some of the tendencies of the experiment may be gathered from what I have written, others may be inferred. But of one thing we are positive, and that is that the Half-Way House has done immense good by bringing together people who should never be separated, each of whom needs the other. This is not a charitable movement, it is an educational one. A clear and positive and I may say a priceless result is that the rich and the poor are educating each other. Indeed, we have got so far now that we hardly apply these terms in the conventional way. A new sense of values is evident at Half-Way House. If we call a man rich, we mean in the things which make manhood and happiness; if we call him poor, we mean poverty of life.

The Half-Way House is truly democratic; it is also truly aristocratic. We are seeking to get the better elements to the top in the life of the individual and in the life of society. That is the true aristocracy of intellect and of soul, and the question of geography, whether East Side or Fifth Avenue, has nothing to do with it.

The social commingling of the poor residents and the rich beneficiaries has wrought the finest results. Each has come better to understand the other. Some of our resident workers did not at first get into a sympathetic understanding of the view-point of the rich man, nor did the people of the neighborhood

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at first always understand our workers. Each was too much influenced by the circumstances of the other. This state of observation and curiosity has passed into one of true fraternity. To fraternize means to humanize. The basis of all permanent human relations must be found, not in superficial and temporary distinctions, but in the deeper elements of our common humanity. Here alone is the foundation of true brotherhood. So it is that a most delightful relation has sprung up between residents and neighbors. The rich are surprised to find the noble qualities of our residents, and our residents are learning day by day what splendid men and women may be reared in luxury in spite of enervating influences. Over our door we have put up another motto, the words of Burns:

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that."

A VICTORIAN GROUP[1]

WITH a lively recollection of the charming correspondence between Thackeray and Mrs. Brookfield, published several years ago, one opens these new volumes with pleasant anticipation. The biography of William H. Brookfield fills the first part, and he appears as a handsome, talented, and already popular youth. After hesitating between the Church and the bar, he prevailed upon his parents to permit him to go to Cambridge, where began his lifelong friendships with a group of men who formed the magic circle of which Mrs. Brookfield was later the center. He was admitted into the inmost ring of the group, which included Thackeray, Tennyson, Arthur Henry Hallam, Kinglake, Venables, Milnes, and others. He became tutor to the eldest son of Lord Lyttelton, another connection that widened his friendships. He began, during his residence at Hagley, the seat of Lord Lyttelton, to record in his diary such anecdotes and incidents as he gathered from distinguished guests who were in touch with the world. A certain Hawkins Brown, who had been cured of stammering, managed to get through a sentence in a speech by singing it to a tune. "If the sentence happened to be finished a few bars before the end of the melody, still he went through the latter in order to start fair with the ensuing sentence. The effect in the Commons was most ludicrous, and some wag one day echoed the dying strain. Sheridan, in the House, called him 'his melodious friend.'" Lord Spencer told Mr. Brookfield that Bozzy used to come to the Johnson Club half drunk, and was loud and overbearing in his talk, which was chiefly of Johnson.

Through Mr. Brookfield's friendship for Arthur Hallam he met his future wife, Miss Jane Elton, who was a niece of Mr. Hallam the historian. A portrait of Brookfield in cap and gown shows a fine intelligent face, while a copy of a painting of Arthur Hallam at the age of sixteen is charming. The college correspondence of these youths is as merry and extravagant as possible, and shows them in all their gay humor. In 1836 he became curate of Holyrood, Southampton, where within a year or two the Elton family came to live. Of the childhood of Jane we have a few piquant glimpses. The little girl used to have her lessons lying upon a hard board with a hollow for the head; she also wore a "spider," a web of iron or steel covered with leather, which braced the small back from neck to waist. Stern as this system appears to us, it was owing to it that Mrs. Brookfield preserved to the end of her long life her stately figure and carriage. She was the youngest daughter in a family of eight girls, hence her second name, Octavia. Her three brothers were devoted, and all the family had a refreshing belief in one another's talents. Jane was a beauty, and a witty and delightful companion. Her father, Charles Elton, was the friend of Lamb, Landor, Southey, Coleridge, Turner, and others, so that she was born into the literary atmosphere

[1] *Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle.* Edited by Charles and Frances Brookfield. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 2 vols. $7.

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which she breathed to the end of her life. The Elton children would sometimes note, "Nothing occurred—only Old Landor called oftener than ever." Jane writes: "One day he said he had left a drawer full of Southey's letters at home—letters he had treasured and intended to keep, but 'My wife has been so good as to burn them,' and he gave the loudest burst of laughter I ever heard."

Mr. Brookfield was twelve years older than Jane Elton, and that fact may account for the tone he adopts in his letters to her after their engagement. He was the severe mentor, yet at the same time praised the wit and drollery of her letters. Much affection was expressed, with gay descriptions of social events and occasional rebukes quite startling to modern ears. To reprimand a young lady for the "blackguard sluttishness" of her letters has happily passed out of fashion. The Brookfields were married in 1841, and began their new life in Jermyn Street, London. Their friends rallied to them, and new and old gathered at their table to enjoy the feast of wit "in a sphere more brilliant and far more exclusive than any that has existed since." Mrs. Brookfield was introduced to London society at her uncle's house. Mr. Hallam was fond of his niece, who always retained a feeling of awe for the punctilious gentleman. His second son, Henry, who also died in his youth, occasionally referred to him as "the author of my days and the Middle Ages." Thackeray was a constant visitor, and at Christmas made Mrs. Brookfield his first present—one of his books. During her absence from home Mr. Brookfield wrote to his wife that "Titmarsh" had sent him the following invitation:

"If you like two or three
Of your cronies to see,
There's a swarry
To-morry
At Mitre Court B."

Theological discussions raged in those days as now, and Mr. Brookfield lost some preferment because of his audacity in the pulpit. He told the story of an old gardener of his father's—an example of definite and clear belief. He held that nobody could be saved who wore short breeches. "I said to him, 'Now, Joseph, do you think St. Paul wore breeches?' With admirable power of debate, he answered, 'I don't know what he wore, Mr. William, but I'll tell you what he didn't wear. He didn't wear shirt collars up, velvet waistcoat, gold buttons, blue satin cravats, boots and straps—strutting about like a crow in a gutter' (describing myself in the year 1830 in detail)."

An amusing tale is told of Samuel Rogers.

"Walking the other day with an absent-minded friend, Rogers told him how a lady, half recognizing him the day before, had asked him, 'Isn't your name Rogers?' 'And was it?' asked the absent one.'" Mr. Brookfield makes himself merry over the flowing rhetoric of Bishop Wilberforce, vulgarly known as Soapy Sam, and cleverly travesties a sermon and ridicules a speech before the House of Lords by this prelate. Mrs. Brookfield thus comments upon Browning's marriage: "Of course you know that our friend Browning ran away with a sister poet the other day? Miss Barrett-Barrett (y two Barretts?) who has been nearly bed-ridden for years; they are now in Italy away from a brutish father, (*selon* Mr. Moxon) who opposed the match and entailed the necessity of its being achieved in a surreptitious (gracious! what a word!!) manner. Miss Wynn lent me Miss Barrett's poetic effusions with a strong encomium from herself. I see she has a good deal of poetry in her, but her 'Lady Geraldine's Courtship' is evidently conceived in consequence of reading 'Locksley Hall,' and the whole poem recalls it, though such a *laboured* piece of 40 pages was never put together I suppose."

Among the Brookfields' friends was Miss Wynn, who wrote very clever letters, often discussing the peculiar religious influences of the time. Oxford and Cambridge were in opposite camps, and the most unmitigated scorn was poured upon Oxford by these Cambridge men. Mr. Brookfield wrote seriously in answer to Miss Wynn's arguments, but his sense of fun occasionally moved him to such a declaration as, "Arthur Elton had turned Puseyite and now smokes to the East."

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It was through Thackeray that the lasting friendship between Lord and Lady Ashburton and the Brookfields was commenced.

Lady Ashburton was an ideal hostess, and had the gift of bringing out her guests at their best. She gathered about her a group of literary people, among whom Thackeray and the Brookfields shone, with the Carlyles, Venables, and others. It is odd to read of these men and women amusing themselves with childish games, throwing the handkerchief and counting ten rapidly in order to avoid a forfeit. Carlyle told a story of his childhood. When he was four, his parents gave him an earthenware "thrift pot," a sort of bottle without mouth but with a slit in the side to slip pennies in. He was left alone in the house when there came to the door a beggar-man, pale, weary, worn, and hungry, dripping with wet. "I climbed on the kitchen table," says Carlyle, "and reached down the thrift pot from its shelf and gave him all that was in it—some fourpence. *I never in all my life felt anything so like heaven as the pity I had for that man.*" Mrs. Brookfield says: "How different this from 'the inward satisfaction and pride resulting from a virtuous action.'"

Mrs. Carlyle was not the easiest guest to entertain. In the large parties at Lady Ashburton's she expected to take the lead, which was difficult, as her brilliant hostess was the first attraction everywhere. Clever and amusing as she was in conversation, Mrs. Carlyle had a fatal propensity to finish off every detail of her long stories, and, with her Scotch accent and somewhat exacting temper, her audiences longed for abridgment or for an opportunity to have their own turn in the conversation. Mrs. Brookfield describes her as very slight, neat, erect, animated in face, with very good eyes and teeth, but no pretension to beauty.

Mrs. Brookfield gives us a glimpse of Miss Brontë through thoroughly feminine eyes, when she says that there was a fashion for wearing a plait of hair across the head, and as Miss Brontë, "a timid little woman with a firm mouth," did not have thick hair, she wore a very obvious crown of brown silk! Mr. Thackeray on the way down to dinner addressed her as Currer Bell. She tossed her head and said she "believed there were books being published by a person named Currer Bell, . . . but the person he was talking to was Miss Brontë, and she saw no connection between the two." The story of Thackeray's party for Miss Brontë is well known, and its miserable failure is accounted for by Mrs. Brookfield. She thinks the keen-brained little lady was unable to fall in with the easy *badinage* of the well-bred folk she met in London, and was "dismayed at anecdotes that gained in elegance as they lost in accuracy."

Macaulay was seated beside Mrs. Brookfield at dinner when she asked him if he admired Jane Austen's works. "He made no reply till a lull occurred in the general conversation, when he announced, "Mrs. Brookfield has asked me if I admire Jane Austen's novels, to which I reply," and then entered into a lengthy dissertation to which all listened but into which no one else dared intrude, finally describing how some time ago he had found himself by the plain marble slab which covered the remains of J. A., when he said to himself, "Here's a woman who ought to have had a national monument."

Some one cruelly remarked to Tennyson that he would be as bald as Spedding before long. Mrs. Brookfield, writing to Harry Hallam, says: "Poor Alfred brooded over this . . . and put himself under a Mrs. Parker, who rubs his head and pulls out dead hairs, an hour a visit and ten shillings an hour, besides cosmetics *ad libitum*. Your father's hair would bristle up at the idea of the Queen's pension being spent in this manner, but really his hair is such an integral part of his appearance it would be a great pity he should lose it—and they say this woman does really restore hair, and she is patronized by Royalty itself! Can I say more in her favour or in extenuation for A. T.?"

It is pleasant to hear that Alfred Tennyson was regarded by his friends as eminently good-natured—a quality which, when combined with high genius and critical ability, must cause surprise. He appeared late for breakfast one morning and said, "My watch has stopped;

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what am I to do?" All felt concerned for a moment, when Mr. Fairbairn with gravity took the watch from the poet's hand, asked for his key, wound it up, and silently returned it to its owner! With strangers he was shy and retiring, but with his friends his conversation was full of depth and earnestness—often amusing from its exaggerated flights of humorous fancy.

In 1859 Mr. Hallam died, after sustaining the loss of all his brilliant children. Gradually the circle was invaded, and the great blow came in 1863 when Thackeray died. Nowhere outside the great writer's family was the sorrow so keen as in the Brookfield household. Mr. Brookfield records the dreadful news simply—"Thackeray is dead." Both Mr. and Mrs. Brookfield were to an extent invalids, but both continued their work and social pleasures. Mrs. Brookfield wrote several books, which were well received, but are now forgotten. In 1874 Mr. Brookfield died, and Mrs. Brookfield survived him twenty years. The tributes of his friends placed Mr. Brookfield high in character and usefulness. In the Church "he had his Newmanic turn and then became something of Broad Church." Witty, sympathetic, loyal to his friends, handsome and popular, while he amused in public it was said that he left evidence to prove that he was equally apt in giving serious and solid comfort to those who desired it.

Mrs. Brookfield retained to the last the charming personality that insured for her the affection and confidence of a remarkable set of men and women for fully forty years.

As the compilers of these letters say, "None are likely to deny that those Victorians were, in their mental grasp and their quickness of wit, a rare and a wondrous race."

The letters speak for themselves, and are so complete in their reflection of the times and the people they represent that the slender thread connecting them is hardly more than a placing in order. The effect of the book is not as vivid as might be expected, but it is vastly agreeable, and adds a link in the chain which binds us to the time so difficult to call the past century.

Comment on Current Books

The Abbé Constantin Halévy's pleasant romance, together with Fitzgerald's "Omar" and Dr. Holmes's "Professor at the Breakfast-Table," are issued as new volumes of the "Arcadia Classics." This series of classics and favorites is neatly presented in pretty and small books with flexible binding and acceptable illustration. (T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $1.25 each.)

The Age of the Earth The lectures or addresses which Dr. W. J. Sollas, Professor of Geology at Oxford, England, has here included under the title of his Presidential Address to the Geological Section of the British Association cover a much wider field than the title indicates. In sufficiently popular form they present the latest hypotheses, researches, and conclusions of the science on points of primary importance, together with some of secondary interest. Dr. Sollas indulges in no venturesome guesses at the number of millenniums since our planet first took form. His nearest approach to certainty is that it is at least fifty-six or fifty-seven millions of years, and perhaps much more, since the moon, after having been flung off from the earth, was revolving within thirty-six thousand miles of it. The earth is still slightly pear-shaped, and until it comes to its ultimate spherical or spheroidal form the catastrophes of the past are likely to recur. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

The Building of the City Beautiful "The poet of the Sierras," Joaquin Miller, here offers to the public a completed work of which, while incomplete, some portions were printed for friends. In form it is a romance embodying the author's visions of the City of God that is to be, for the realization of which Jew and Christian join heart and hand. In substance it is a sketch of the social Utopia which in the coming age will be based on Jesus' foundations, as given in the Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount. Suggestions of Thoreau, of Tolstoy, of Edward Bellamy, frequently recur to the reader, but the ruling spirit is that of the Christ, as the Saviour of

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man from the inhumanity of man, and from his own baser self. The spiritualized affection of a noble man for the noblest of women, a Beatrice to a Dante, runs through the whole, and "the City Beautiful" at last appears in form as transcendently ideal as that in the Apocalypse. Taken as a whole, this work, whose chapters are each introduced by an appropriate poem, is a prose poem on the evil that is, and the good that is to come—a work which in thought and art shows its author at his best. (Albert Brandt, Trenton, N. J. $1.50, net; postage, 8 cents.)

"Don Quichotte" Don Quixote is an immortal character. It was never to be expected that he and his inseparable Sancho Panza would remain strangers to the stage. Some weeks ago in France the stage received a notable addition to its literary and dramatic forces by the publication of Jean Richepin's "Don Quichotte," and its representation at a no less distinguished place than the Théâtre Français, generally and justly considered the first theater of the world. In the new "Don Quixote," as in the old, we have a heroic-comic work. Its characteristic features, as created three centuries ago in Spain by the genius of Cervantes, have been only accentuated by the talent of an eminent French poet and by the consummate artists of the Comédie Française, especially MM. Louis Leloir and André Brunot, who took the parts of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza, respectively. M. Richepin's text is brilliant in its incisive vivacity. The dialogue is always spirited, as should be the case with such a subject; it is full of a Figaro-like dash and touch-and-go, which seems to belong more than elsewhere in the land of mantillas and castanets; indeed, the drama fairly breathes the atmosphere of Spain. It is written in verse, but the rhyme rarely obtrudes unspontaneously; for the most part its jingle is graceful and appropriate. We would not part with it any more than we would with the rhyming in M. Rostand's "Cyrano." (Eugène Fasquelle, Editeur, Paris, France.)

Edvard Grieg With Mr. Henry Theophilus Finck, the author of this biography of Grieg, everything is either black or white. There is no gray in all the world. Liszt? What a god! Brahms? A dry old pedant! The white is what he personally likes; the black what he personally dislikes. Of course his hero in this volume is glaringly white. His admiration for him is unbounded. The reader must be prepared to be indulgent, to supply the grain of salt. Of course Grieg may fairly be called a genius of high order. His music is more than tuneful and individual. But let us beware of suggesting it has fleck or flaw; we shall have Mr. Finck at our heels. In spite of this attitude of fierce worshiper, Mr. Finck has written a very readable as well as useful book. He has succeeded, in the first place, in filling it with personality. He quotes letters and chatty reminiscences. He relates anecdotes. He writes sympathetically of Grieg's ambitions and experiences. He has, in the second place, brought together much information about Grieg, some old and some new, which has not before been easily accessible. In spite of its amusing mixture of gush, abusiveness, and dogmatism, this is a book which people will read to their advantage and entertainment, and which is worth putting upon the library shelf. (The John Lane Company, New York. $1, net.)

Frenzied Finance The sensational and voluminous articles which Mr. Thomas W. Lawson has been contributing to "Everybody's Magazine" have now been published in book form. We see no reason to revise our judgment of these papers and their author expressed while they were appearing periodically. The book has no literary merit, and contains little to convince the intelligent reader that the author's testimony may be accepted without careful corroboration. Mr. Lawson has been a market manipulator and stock-jobber of the most pronounced type, according to his own jaunty confession. His demeanor on the mourner's bench and his apostrophe to penitence are not of such a character as to give assurance that his conversion is a very profound one. We may forgive him for his confessed participation in what he calls "the crime of the Amalgamated," but for ourselves we prefer to trust somebody else's advice as to where and how to invest our savings and as to the methods and principles we shall adopt in reforming the very actual and widespread evils of corporate greed, overcapitalization, unscrupulous speculation, and the unjust use of public property for private gain. (The Ridgway-Thayer Company, New York. $1.50.)

From Servitude to Service The purpose and spirit of six institutions in the South in which negroes are educated are here described. Three of these institutions—Howard and Atlanta Universities and Tuskegee Institute (erroneously called "Tuskegee University" in the running titles)—are described by colored men, Professor Keller Miller, Professor W. B. Du Bois, and Professor R. C. Bruce; and the other three—Hampton, Berea, and Fisk—by white men, Dr. Frissell, President Frost, and

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President Merrill. Professor Miller furnishes the opening chapter and undertakes to provide the background. Unhappily, it is a background of antagonism, not to say animosity, to the white people. Unhappily, also, in this chapter and in that describing Atlanta University, explanation of college training for negroes involves slurs upon industrial training. We should advise most readers of this volume to begin with the chapter on Hampton Institute by Dr. Frissell. The education of the negro has entailed an expenditure of effort and of life that has sometimes been termed wasteful; but, as in education under other conditions, this expenditure, when directed by intelligence as well as faith, has ample justification. This book contains evidence that this is so. The chapters were originally delivered in the Old South Lectures on the History and Work of Southern Institutions for the Education of the Negro. Mr. Robert C. Ogden writes an introduction. (The American Unitarian Association, Boston. $1.10, net.)

Ground Arms This romance of European war by the Baroness von Suttner has been compared to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in its influence upon the public sentiment of the country in which it was written. Six editions have already been published. It is a powerful human document in its portrayal of the direct and the incidental horrors of war, and the arguments which are presented, in conversation and reflections, in favor of the settlement of disputes between nations by an international court. The story itself is of keen interest, but the argument is stronger than the story. The author has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize of $40,000 in acknowledgment of the book's influence in bringing about the Hague Tribunal. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.50.)

A Guide to the Ring of the Nibelung Wagner's music-dramas may be enjoyed without commentary, but they will unquestionably be more intelligently enjoyed after some understanding of their structure. This handbook, by the well-known writer of musical criticism, Richard Aldrich, presents concisely and intelligibly an account of the sources of Wagner's four works, "The Rhinegold," "The Valkyrie," "Siegfried," and "The Dusk of the Gods" (Götterdämmerung), an explanation of Wagner's purpose in composing them, and an analysis of each in order. The leading motives are given in musical notation. For general use this guide is most convenient. (The Oliver Ditson Company, Boston. $1.25.)

Historic Styles in Furniture The title indicates the special point of view of this new "furniture book." Sometimes the century made the style, as in the fifteenth century; sometimes the period, as with the Italian Renaissance; sometimes the monarch, as with Louis XV. Taking each style as a chapter division, the author, Virginia Robie, writes clearly of its development, highest type, and merger into other styles. The illustrations are admirably chosen and well printed. (Herbert S. Stone, Chicago.)

In the March and Borderland of Wales Just what is included in this large and comprehensive volume is explained by its author, Mr. A. G. Bradley, when he tells us that the term "marches," originally meaning that land of one country which "marched" with that of another—that is, was adjacent to the boundary—long since in Wales was extended to include those slices of Welsh territory conquered soon after the Conquest by Norman barons and held by them independently of the Crown, or nearly so. Many of these spots are of historical as well as picturesque interest, and the plan allows the inclusion of many remote and rugged castles and strongholds. There are scores of line drawings, and these sketches aptly illustrate the text. For the average American reader the treatment is sometimes over-minute and leisurely. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $3, net.)

In the Sixties and Seventies This is the title of a pleasing volume of personal impressions of literary and social people of note by Laura Hain Friswell. The author is the daughter of an English essayist and novelist who had agreeable and friendly relations with Thackeray, Cruikshank, Thomas Cooper the Chartist, Kingsley, and other noted men of his generation, while Miss Friswell has many anecdotes of her own acquaintance, Sir Walter Besant, his collaborator, Mr. J. S. Rice, Sir Henry Stanley, William Black, and many writers of our own day. The book is cheerful reading, and, while it is occasionally trivial, is in the main a good specimen of a class of books which entertain one's leisure hours in a most satisfactory way. The volume is noteworthy physically for its novel and handsome binding. (H. B. Turner & Co., Boston.)

Lettres d'un Curé de Campagne After reading this clever volume one is not surprised that it was "couronné" by the French Academy—that imprimatur eagerly sought by every writer in France. In a series of letters written in simple, clear, incisive style, M. Yves

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le Querdec, as a supposed French priest, describes his hopes and deceptions, his projects and waverings, his successes and failures. The book appears, appropriately, at a time of special searching of hearts both by churchmen and statesmen in France. The recital of the life of a *curé* there (and the village priest has always been a peculiarly social as well as religious power in every village) should have its due effect in giving to readers, and especially to foreign readers, a more intimate knowledge of actual, present-day conditions, as affected by recent legislation, which has now culminated in a law practically separating Church and State. As may be fancied, these "Lettres" are written frankly from the Roman Catholic standpoint. (Victor Lecoffre, Paris, France.)

Life and Religion Passages from the writings of a scientist, some of them hitherto unpublished, have here been gathered, classified, and made into what may be termed a modern book of devotion. The scientist is Max Müller and the compiler is his wife. The result is an expression of personal religion, all the more real because it is not one which, to use his own words, "could ever be placed again beyond the reach of scientific treatment or honest criticism." (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $1.50, net.)

Moods of the Wood A collection of verses that show the author (Ralcy Husted Bell) in command of a sufficiently varied vocabulary to express his sentiments, ranging from patriotic addresses to our country, through appreciation of nature in many moods, and eulogiums of friends, to impassioned love songs. An impression is left upon the mind that prudent pruning would have made the volume smaller and saved the reader from occasional commonplaces both in thought and phrase. (Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.)

New Egypt "We no more understand the Egyptians than we understand the Japanese; and, besides, there is this difference—that whereas the latter understand themselves, the former do not." So remarked a diplomatist to Mr. A. B. de Guerville, the author of a vivacious, well-translated description of "New Egypt." Of course "New Egypt" includes the Sudan, and this part of the book is of somewhat greater interest to the student of present-day civilization than is the author's entertaining but rather gossiping description of Cairo and the Lower Nile. As M. de Guerville says, "Was there ever a campaign which relatively cost so little and has brought so much as that of England in Egypt?" Seven years ago the situation in the Sudan was especially discouraging; the country was practically ruined, three-quarters of the population had perished, and those remaining, still quivering under the crisis through which they had been passing, were actively hostile to their conquerors. Yet these conquerors were able to re-establish order, rebuild Khartûm (the capital), organize law courts and a police system, abolish slavery, regulate commerce, found schools, watch over sanitary affairs, especially struggling against the epidemics from which the country had long suffered. Above and beyond all, the conquerors convinced the half-savage Sudanese that these things were for their good. Not only are the natives now content, but the resources of the country have been developed with unexpected rapidity. In 1898, as M. de Guerville shows, the Sudan produced a value of $175,000; in 1902, $2,700,000. Of perhaps equal importance is the description of the Nile in the Fashoda region. It must be pleasant reading to Englishmen to have the testimony of a French author that the mission sent out by France quickly lost its reason-of-being as far as taking possession of Fashoda was concerned. For "it was perfectly certain that, after the enormous effort which England had just caused Egypt to make in order to reconquer the Sudan, . . . she would never abandon the fruits of her victory." Despite occasional blemishes, the book is worth reading. The text is reinforced by nearly two hundred interesting illustrations. (E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

Pattie's Personal Narrative James O. Pattie was a Kentuckian of an adventurous turn of mind who for six years conducted an expedition westward from St. Louis toward the Pacific and back through the City of Mexico to Vera Cruz, arriving in Cincinnati in 1830 penniless and broken in health from imprisonment and ill-treatment in Mexico. His story is entitled to a place in Dr. Thwaite's valuable collection of "Early Western Travels," both because of its thrilling interest as a record of hardship, captivity, and adventure, and because it gives a decidedly interesting picture of Spanish-American civilization in the Southwest and of Anglo-Saxon pioneering and frontier life. (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland. $4.)

A Short History of Germany Four years ago Dr. Ernest Flagg Henderson published what he called "A Short History of Germany"—but the "Short History" was in two good-sized volumes. For the sake of those readers who are attracted first of all by brevity, we are glad

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to chronicle the appearance of this valuable work in a one-volume edition. Those who are really interested in German history, however, will not be satisfied with such a condensation, admirably as it has been done. Nor will they be satisfied with the excellent two-volume edition as marking the final limit of their study. For perhaps the chief merit of Dr. Henderson's work is also the merit of every other work of art—suggestiveness. (The Macmillan Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

The True Doctrine of Prayer

Baffling as the philosophy of prayer may be, the precept of the highest spiritual authority supplies prayer with sufficient reason. To follow the wise is the wisdom of the unwise. In stating the Biblical doctrine of prayer Dr. Leander Chamberlain, President of the Evangelical Alliance in the United States, presents the Lord's Prayer as both the authority and the pattern for all true prayer. With his inference that no one can "truly" and "really" pray unless in full accord with Christ's desire, "Thy will be done," one must so far agree as to say that only such fulfill the ideal of prayer. But short of this a large margin must be recognized, in which prayer concentrating all the energy of a perhaps dimly enlightened soul is, though not ideal, yet a real force, hardly to be deemed utterly ineffective. We may rationally hold with Dr. Chamberlain to an objective efficiency of prayer, and that the universe has been pre-adapted to the exercise of man's natural instinct to pray, though we can hardly adopt his hyperbolical conception "that when true prayer lifts even its feeblest cry, . . . gravitation, cohesion, chemical affinity take notice, . . . that the globe, the planets, the starry systems, turn thitherward their quick attention." Dr. Chamberlain's paragraphing of his argument in an aphoristic form is well adapted to secure distinct attention to the successive considerations in which it is presented. The Biblical ideal of prayer and the failures of Christian practice to realize it need all the emphasis here put upon each. (The Baker & Taylor Company, New York. $1, net.)

Who's Who in America

The new edition of this constantly useful handbook for 1906–7 is greatly enlarged as to the number of biographical sketches contained, and it has been made possible to include these without unduly increasing the size of the volume by the use of paper which from every other point of view is deplorably thin. A new and welcome feature is the printing in special type of names included in former volumes but dropped because of death or otherwise; these entries have a reference to the volume in which the life-sketch appeared. The present volume contains, apart from cross-references, brief biographies of 16,216 men and women. The editor, Mr. John W. Leonard, in a preface and in an introduction dealing with educational and social statistics, gives much interesting information, and throws light on such questions as the relative success in life of college and non-college men and the average age of men who have attained success. It could not be expected in a compilation dealing with 16,000 persons that there could be a very well defined standard of admission, but the practical value of the work is really largely due to the extent of its field, and the editor has carefully guarded against the possibility of charges of unfairness or favoritism. The book is not a collection of laudatory or effusive sketches, but is closely confined to a condensed statement of fact. It is really indispensable in a newspaper office, and is of general utility for the public at large in countless ways. (A. N. Marquis & Co., Chicago. $3.50.)

A Young Man's Religion and His Father's Faith

Men who wish to think for themselves, and who find the results of modern scholarship unavoidable, can neither define their religion in terms current a generation ago, nor discover in themselves those peculiar experiences which by their fathers were regarded as necessary evidence of religious faith. There are many men, young and old, who are perplexed by this fact. Dr. N. McGee Waters has written this book in order, evidently, to persuade such men that faith does not stand or fall by definitions or even by peculiar experiences. He has a sympathetic understanding of both the older and the newer point of view; and yet he profoundly believes that faith has never found so full an expression as it has found in the terms of to-day, that God was never so well known as he is through the channel of modern knowledge, and that the Bible never appeared so great as present-day scholarship shows that it is. This book, written with the eloquence of the man who is speaking instead of writing, will unquestionably help many readers over perplexities that now stand in the way of a practical application of religion to life. (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. 90c., net.)

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Letters to The Outlook

THE RECOVERY OF FAITH

[In the multitude of counselors there is wisdom. As there are many causes for the loss of faith, so there are many methods for its recovery. None of these answers is complete or will meet all cases. Neither will the answer given in the editorial in The Outlook of February 10 meet all cases. But in each of these answers some one may find help, and in them all many may find interest.—THE EDITORS.]

The article entitled "The Recovery of Faith," in The Outlook for February 10, which begins by quoting a letter from one who deplores the loss of his boyhood faith, it seems to me does not deal with the subject quite fully or fairly. Is not the loss a sadder and a deeper one than your article would seem to imply? That which makes the child-faith so beautiful is the simple, unquestioning acceptance of the great fact of the Fatherhood of a Personal God, whose great love is most perfectly revealed in the Person of his Son Jesus Christ, who is the Friend and Saviour of all those who put their trust in him and obey him. For such a faith as this the heart cries out not less in mature life or old age than in childhood, and the loss of it is one compared with which all other losses are as nothing. And this faith can be retained. It was in the joy of this faith that Mr. Drummond endured serenely the years of illness that preceded the close of his life. It was in the inspiration of this faith that Tennyson, after the trials innumerable of a long and busy life, wrote before he died,

> "I hope to see my Pilot face to face
> When I have crossed the bar."

It was this faith that was the keynote of the hymn of the Dean of Canterbury, "Life's Answer," which ends,

> "Safe to the land, safe to the land,
> The end is this,
> And then go with Him hand in hand
> Far into bliss."

It was in the strength of this faith that Phillips Brooks wrote:

> The Christ who in eternity opens the last concealment and lays his comfort and life close to the deepest needs of the poor, needy human heart is the same Christ that first laid hands upon the blind eyes and made them see the sky and flowers.

When St. Paul says, "When I became a man, I put away childish things," he does not mean that the childlike faith is incompatible with the maturity of mind that belongs to manhood and womanhood. The man of fifty loves his mother with a deeper reverence and veneration than the heart of childhood can know, but it is the child love still in the heart of the man who gives it. It included the learned ones of His day as well as His disciples when our Lord said to them, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

This is a faith worth having and keeping—worth fighting for, if need be, and, if lost, it is worth while to lose all else in order that it may be gained again. Is not its loss most frequently due to the fact that even in childhood there is some conscious or unconscious neglect of duty, some failure to struggle with besetting sin, in which case, as one grows older, the intellectual assent to belief becomes a form, with no vital relation to the life, and the emotional pleasure which church-going may afford will gradually cease because it does not find its rightful end in obedience. As Mr. Drummond says, "religion without emotion is religion without reflection." But religious emotion which does not find its legitimate end in repentance and obedience, or indulged in while the will or any portion of it is consciously unsurrendered, becomes a snare rather than a blessing to its possessor.

The Christian life for its maintenance requires a constant struggle with sin and temptation, and implicit obedience to the great Captain of our salvation. Does one find his faith slipping from him, or is it apparently entirely gone? Let him, with all his might, set about righting whatever may be wrong in his life. Is there an outward or inward sin to be relinquished? Let it be given up *now*.

Some sacrifices are not easy to make, and of some duty that is required of us the heart of man, if it is honest, may cry out, "I cannot" or "I will not," and then those who have wandered far through sin remember that it is the one way back, and as we try the strength is given, for God loves to welcome back his children, and those who, amid whatever discouragements and trials, keep up the struggle from day to day may rest confident that by and by, if not here, hereafter, the lost joy will be restored and the lost faith found again.

A READER OF THE OUTLOOK.

I have read the article on "The Recovery of Faith" with much interest. But on concluding I could but say, And yet Jesus said, "Except ye be converted, and *become as little children*, ye cannot enter into the king-

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dom of heaven." Did you not take a misstep, and at the same time give a stone to a human soul hungering for bread? The faith of the devout heart at seventy-seven does not materially differ from that of the child of twelve, save that, while more intelligent, it is also deeper, stronger, more full of trust, love, joy. N. J. M.

Please allow me to call attention to a very common error, as expressed in a letter printed under the title "The Recovery of Faith;" namely, the continuance by a mature mind of the method of belief necessary in childhood. The heart does not grow old. In one sense, and that a true one, the man is always the boy. The error to which I am referring is that of the author of the letter referred to, who did not obey the injunction of Paul when he said, "When I became a man, I put away childish things." On the contrary, he accepted orthodox teachings when a child, necessarily. After arriving at mature and more thoughtful years, he still continues to accept the teachings of others, namely, those of the scientist and of infidels. He attempts, and poorly succeeds, to be a boy after having become a man.

The lesson here pointed is that of the desirability of obedience to that light which guideth every man, but which is too often obscured by the attention being paid to the seeming torchlight of another. A lady approaching Mr. Emerson at the close of a lecture, and thinking to compliment him, said that she agreed with every word he said. That wise man remarked: "Please do not agree with me. I settle nothing. I unsettle everything. I am only an eternal experimenter like yourself."

Much confusion and sorrow and loss of hope and faith is caused by the so general effort of trying to wear second-hand opinions.

"There is no chance and no anarchy in the universe. All is system and gradation. Every god is there sitting in his sphere. The young mortal enters the hall of the firmament; there is he alone with them alone, they pouring on him benedictions and gifts, and beckoning him up to their thrones. On the instant, and incessantly, fall snow-storms of illusions. He fancies himself in a vast crowd which sways this way and that, and whose movements and doings he must obey; he fancies himself poor, orphaned, insignificant. The mad crowd drives hither, thither, now furiously commanding this thing to be done, now that. What is he that he should resist their will, and think or act for himself? Every moment new changes and new showers of deceptions to baffle and distract him. And when, by and by, for an instant, the air clears and the clouds lift a little, there are the gods still sitting around him on their thrones—they alone with him alone."

"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

J. C. C.

You appear to take for granted and give out the idea that all mankind must of necessity pass through these successive stages of *erroneous* childhood belief, then analysis and doubt, and with perhaps a rare chance of again emerging into the realization of the omnipresence of God. The letter you are answering portrays, as you say, "a common experience;" but, while deploring the condition, why not find the solution of the difficulty in the truthful education of chlldren? "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein," are the words of the Christ. Cannot a child understand a measure of truth? Then why teach children grotesque dreams of heaven and an anthropomorphic God which cannot stand the test of reason? "Life will undeceive him," you say. To me that is inexpressibly pathetic; yet you omit any suggestion of regret that your inquirer did not, when a boy, comprehend as a child might that the unchanging God is Love. Your line of demarcation is so strong between "childhood faith" and the faith of manhood, yet it must be the same faith differently expressed. Nothing should be lost; nothing of good is lost. Burns's "John Anderson's" wife was not grieving over the loss of the rapture of youthful love; it was not lost, but out of it had grown the greater love. I used heartily to despise Emerson's essay on Love, where he speaks of youthful passion, the endearments, the avowals, as "deciduous," having a prospective end, until I learned this truth that nothing is really lost; and this is beautifully illustrated in Olive Schreiner's Dream, The Lost Joy: when Life and Love lost their first radiant Joy, they would not give up to reclaim it that dearer being, Sympathy, the Perfect Love.

Through childlike—not childish—acceptance of good will the despondent one come into "the kingdom" he fancies was childhood's possession and lost. E. L.

In that most interesting editorial, "The Recovery of Faith," the core of your brotherly advice to the letter-writer lies in the last paragraph. In the very conciseness of the three sentences so full of meaning there may be danger that one who is genuine in distress and desire may fail of the doorway to inexpressible delight. It is more for him,

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therefore, than to you or to your readers that these lines are written. If they may meet his eye, it matters little whether any other see them. The kernel of the whole matter, I take it, lies in the sentence: "He will best find his way to a real, manly faith by mingling in literature and in life with men of faith, and by always being obedient to such heavenly vision as is afforded to him." Yet it seems to me that there is one omission, a suppressed thought, probably to your mind to be regarded as necessarily involved in the sentence, but possibly not in the least luminous to your inquirer. To prevent his losing this thought is the object of the present writing. In many another parallel instance it has appeared that all that was needed to bring the genuine man to the joy of an assured faith was a frank, definite appeal to the far-off God for leading and light, coupled with a promise to follow wherever the light might lead. This done, in unnumbered cases, the seeker after God was speedily assured of his Perpetual Presence even before any possible association with men of faith. If your correspondent will make such a conscious, purposed appeal for guidance, and accept your advice to mingle with men of faith, and especially to follow the heavenly vision as speaking in the Book which already he accepts as the Word of God, it is a blessed certainty that light will arise for him, for even to-day it is true that God is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. C.

Asterisk's letter on "The Recovery of Faith," in The Outlook of February 10, appeals to me with peculiar force, having had, to a degree, a similar experience. It seems to me that the writer is making the same mistake that I did, viz., making faith in Christ a matter of the intellect alone. Let me pass on a faithful pastor's advice: "Never mind your *head*, but make sure your *heart* is right." "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness" (Romans x. 10); "The Lord is my strength and my shield; my heart trusted in him, and I am helped" (Psalm xxviii. 7); "Be not slow of heart to believe;" to that end, the Word must be "hid in the heart" (Psalm cxix. 11). The writer of that letter will "best find his way to a real, a manly faith," *not* merely "by mingling in literature and in life with men of faith," but by looking constantly to God for guidance and help in accordance with the promise, Draw nigh unto God and he will draw nigh unto thee—not depending on *feeling* to prompt earnest prayer, nor allowing coldness of heart to discourage. When Christ is in the heart, it will glow with love and joy, such love and joy as he alone can inspire. Then, indeed, true obedience to the heavenly vision will follow; or, what is equally true, the vision will follow obedience.

S. M. H.

THE GILBERT MEMORIAL

At the time of the death of the late Mrs. G. H. Gilbert, which occurred in December, 1904, The Outlook printed an appreciation of her personality and of her achievements as an actress, commending "her art, her skill, and her personal charm, which her age only ripened and beautified." She was a member for many years of the Bloomingdale Reformed Church of New York City, which has recently built a new edifice on West End Avenue, in the upper part of the city. It is now proposed to place a stained-glass window in this new church building as a token of affection and honor to the memory of Mrs. Gilbert, "whose virtues," as the committee in charge most appropriately say, "reflected honor upon the church and stage." This committee, which is composed of the pastor of the church, the Rev. Dr. Stinson, and Mr. Daniel Frohman, Mr. John Drew, Miss Maude Adams, and others, is undertaking to raise the necessary funds for this memorial. If each one of those whom Mrs. Gilbert entertained and charmed nightly for so many years will make even a modest contribution to the fund, success is assured. Contributions may be sent to Mr. Reed Moore, President of the New Amsterdam Bank, Broadway and Thirty-ninth Street, or Mr. Daniel Frohman, Lyceum Theater, West Forty-fifth Street, New York.

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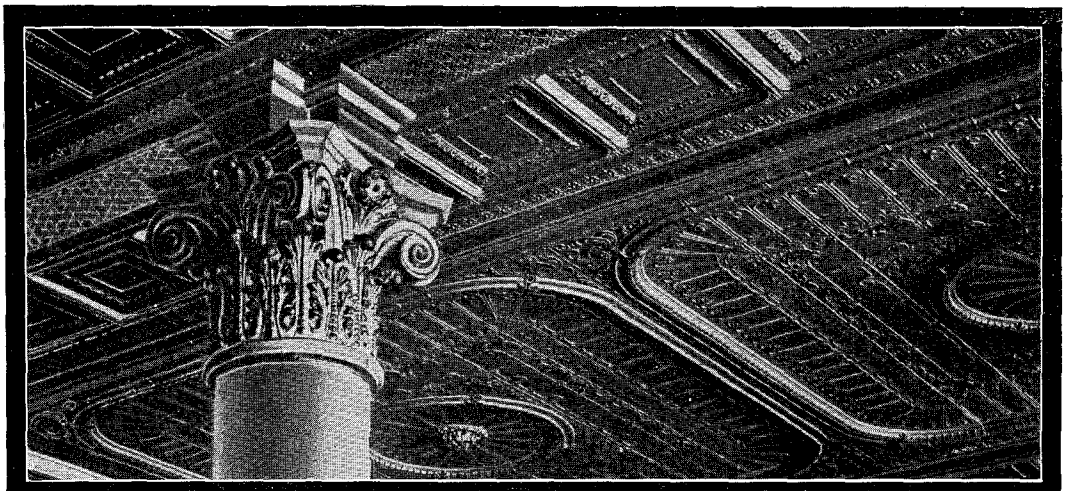

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Remember, it's not a varnish; there are no brushes, no stickiness, no muss, and no drying to wait for. A child can apply it. Don't fail to use it at housecleaning time. At Grocers, Druggists, Hardware and Furniture Dealers. Large bottle, enough to renovate the ordinary home, 50 cents. **Beware of Substitutes.**

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FREE SAMPLE BOTTLE
Postpaid to anyone sending their dealer's name and address.

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Plant for Immediate Effect

Not for Future Generations

Start with the largest stock that can be secured! It takes over **twenty years** to grow such Trees and Shrubs as we offer.

We do the long waiting—thus enabling you to secure trees and shrubs that give an immediate effect. **Spring Price List Now Ready**

ANDORRA NURSERIES CHESTNUT HILL, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

WM. WARNER HARPER, PROPRIETOR

BURPEE'S SEEDS GROW! If you want the **Best Seeds** that can be grown, you should read **The Thirtieth Anniversary Edition** of **BURPEE'S FARM ANNUAL FOR 1906,** so well known as the "Leading American Seed Catalogue." It is mailed **FREE to all.** Better write **TO-DAY. W. ATLEE BURPEE & CO., PHILADELPHIA, PA.**

GREGORY'S SEED CATALOGUE FOR 1906

Gregory's Seeds

For fifty years planters, farmers, and gardeners all over the United States and Canada have planted Gregory's Seeds because they have found them fresh, pure and reliable. They are known as the **seeds with a reputation.** This is our anniversary year—**the 50th.** During this time we have introduced many standard varieties. Here are a few: **Hubbard Squash, Cary Corn, Early Ohio Potato, Delicious Squash, All Season Cabbage, Warren Squash, Eclipse Beet, Mexican Sweet Corn, Longfellow Corn, Miller's Melon, Surprise Pea, Gibson Pumpkin.**

Our new Catalogue is ready. Contains many interesting facts about the farm and garden. Send for a **free** copy.

J. J. H. GREGORY & SON, Marblehead, Mass.

Are Always Sure

GREGORY'S SEED CATALOGUE FOR 1906

INVESTIGATE THE

POULTRY BUSINESS

Write for a free copy of my book which describes the

Profitable Combinations OF Egg, Broiler & Roaster Farms

It gives the prices paid for eggs and poultry week by week for the past three years. It tells how and when a hatch taken off each week in the year could be most profitably marketed. It shows how you can make $2.00 on a large winter roaster. It tells what profits can be made with each of the popular breeds, and the costs of production.

I have helped thousands to make money with poultry. My Model Incubators and Brooders are used on the money-making farms. It is my business to teach those who use them to do so profitably. Whether your needs are small or large, I will furnish, without charge, estimates and plans for a complete equipment that will insure success without your spending a dollar uselessly. Send for my complete literature.

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All kinds of **Trees, Shrubs, Roses, Etc.,** from grower to planter. **FREE BOOK,** 62 pages, gives prices, describes 528 varieties, tells how to plant and care for them.

STARK FRUIT BOOK shows in NATURAL COLORS and accurately describes **216 varieties** of fruit. Send for our liberal terms of distribution to planters.—**Stark Bro's, Louisiana, Mo.**

Banking by Mail in the NINETEENTH WARD BANK, - New York

Send for pamphlet. WARNER M. VAN NORDEN, President.

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A NECESSARY EVIL

Experience of a Minister Who Tried to Think that of Coffee

"A descendant of the Danes, a nation of coffee drinkers, I used coffee freely till I was 20 years old," writes a clergyman from Iowa. "At that time I was a student at a Biblical Institute, and suddenly became aware of the fact that my nerves had become demoralized, my brain dull and sluggish and that insomnia was fastening its hold upon me.

"I was loath to believe that these things came from the coffee I was drinking, but at last was forced to that conclusion, and quit it.

"I was so accustomed to a hot table beverage and felt the need of it so much, that after abstaining from coffee for a time and recovering my health, I went back to it. I did this several times, but always with disastrous results. I had about made up my mind that coffee was a necessary evil.

"About this time a friend told me that I would find Postum Food Coffee very fine and in many respects away ahead of coffee. So I bought some and, making it very carefully according to the directions, we were delighted to find that he had not exaggerated in the least. From that day to this we have liked it better than the old kind of coffee or anything else in the way of a table drink.

"Its use gave me, in a very short time, an increase in strength, clearness of brain and steadiness of nerves; and sleep, restful and restoring, came back to me.

"I am thankful that we heard of Postum, and shall be glad to testify at any time to the good it has done me." Name given by Postum Co., Battle Creek, Mich.

There's a reason. Read the little book, "The Road to Wellville," in pkgs.

5% Paid for 12 Years

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Your savings will earn

5 Per Cent. Per Year

for every day in our care. Earnings remitted semi-annually by check or compounded. We have never paid less than 5% per year on savings, distributing to holders of our certificates profits amounting to nearly three-quarters of a million dollars, while materially adding to our surplus.

Our business is conducted under

New York Banking Department Supervision

by whom it is examined each year.

Let us show you how we can handle your savings accounts to better advantage than most other banking institutions. WRITE TO-DAY.

INDUSTRIAL SAVINGS & LOAN CO. 5% PER ANNUM

Assets - - - $1,750,000
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INDUSTRIAL SAVINGS and LOAN CO.
10 Times Building, Broadway
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Our New Spring Fashion Book is Free

Write for it To-day

It contains 64 pages, and illustrates and describes over **185 fashions** that artistic dressers are wearing in New York **now.**

It explains how **you** can have a costume made in any of our styles cut to ***your measurements***, shaped to become you and to make the most of the good points of your figure.

We will make up any design shown in our Fashion Book to suit the tastes and requirements of the lady who orders it. A garment made by us will distinguish you for dressing in correct taste and exclusive style.

You can choose the material, too, for we send **free,** with the Fashion Book, as many **samples** as you wish, selected from our stock of **450 varieties** of the prettiest and daintiest fabrics offered for this season.

Our system of fitting from measurements sent us by mail is the result of over 17 years' experience, during which time we have won and **kept** the confidence of 400,000 women, many of whom were so difficult to fit they had never been entirely satisfied until they ordered from us. That is why we **know** we can please **you.**

We positively guarantee to fit you perfectly and give entire satisfaction or promptly refund your money.

Spring Suits

Made to Order

$4 to $25

New York Styles

Our Spring Fashion Book illustrates:

Shirt-Waist Suits, $6.00 to $20.
Tailor-Made Suits, $7.50 to $25.
Silk Suits, $9.75 to $25.
Wash Suits, $4.00 to $15.
Separate Skirts, $3.50 to $15.
Silk Coats, $9.75 to $20.
Rain Coats, $8.00 to $20.
Jackets and Coats, $5.75 to $15.

Also a full line of the new "Pony" Walking Suits, Sailor Suits and demi-tailored Gowns.

WE MAKE ALL THESE GARMENTS TO ORDER ONLY

We prepay express charges on these garments to any part of the U. S., which means a big saving to you

We Send FREE to any part of the United States our New **Spring Book of New York Fashions,** showing the latest styles and containing simple directions for taking measurements correctly; also a large assortment of Samples of the newest materials.

Write to-day; you will receive them by return mail.

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I Can Make You Well, Strong and Beautiful

EVERY WOMAN should preserve her health, strength, beauty, poise and, with these, her happiness. It is my success in treating nearly 18,000 women and my knowledge of what my work has done for them that makes me know I can do as much for you.

Let me give you a perfectly balanced organism. Let me direct your breathing, your exercise, your diet; let me give you a perfect blood supply and circulation; a nervous system in harmony with itself and the rest of your body, each nerve center properly directing the organ it controls. The resultant strong vitality will enable you to resist disease, and I will make you what you were intended to be—strong, happy, graceful, beautiful—loving and beloved, with a mental calm, which is life power and true beauty, making your life a satisfaction to yourself, making you the delight and admiration of your friends.

MISS COCROFT AT HER DESK

Only 15 Minutes a Day Give me 15 minutes of your time each day, in your own home, by following my simple directions. Just a little care is all you need to make you the ideal woman of your type. Do not say it is impossible, that nature has not given you the first requirements of health and beauty—I know it is possible; I have accomplished it for thousands.

Drugs are Dangerous

I use no drugs. I never treat a pupil I cannot help. If I cannot help you, I will tell you so.

I Keep Women Young Do you think "True Motherhood" means devotion of mother to her family and neglect of herself? True?—No, the true mother is true to her sacred duty of preserving and protecting herself, that she may be of greatest service to her family. The mother needs health, strength and lightness of heart that she may be a true wife—the delight of her husband, his joy, rest, social help and inspiration, not a slaving, suffering dead-weight for his pity. The true mother keeps well, beautiful and young, that she may enjoy the confidence and admiration of her children and be their guide and welcome councillor.

If you could sit beside me, at my desk, I could, if I would, show you, daily, hundreds of letters from pupils I have helped. I never violate a confidence, never show a letter without permission, but here are a few snatches from one morning's mail:

I wish every nervous teacher could know what benefit is to be derived from your physical culture.
I have lost 73 pounds, and was never better. I look ten years younger.
My constipation and biliousness are entirely relieved.
Just think how I have gained, since I be; an with you, from 112 to 137½ lbs. in one year.
My catarrh and lungs are much better and my body, which was a bony, crooked structure, is actually beginning to look like your picture of correct poise.
My head is steady, the confused feeling having passed away. It is the best spent money ever used for myself.
Just think, Miss Cocroft, before I took up your work I could not eat anything without the greatest distress, and now I think I could DIGEST TACKS, I am so happy.

How to Stand and Walk Remember, I give you personal instruction, after careful study of your symptoms and condition. When you request details about my lessons, I send you my general book **free.** This outlines my methods, and gives you many valuable health hints. With this book I will send, also **free,** my lesson on **Poise,** which teaches you how to **stand and walk.**

Personal Instruction Besides the Book and **free lesson,** in answer to your first inquiry, is included my personal examination of your symptoms and my first advice to you. Write me fully about your case, also letting me know your faults of figure, etc. I will then make a personal study of your case and will let you know whether I can help you or not. Your letter will be held in strict confidence.

I never publish letters without special permission, though I can send you hundreds of testimonials from women I have helped, who are only too glad to have me show their letters.

SUSANNA COCROFT, 57 Washington Street, Dept. 8. CHICAGO

For details about MY PERSONAL INSTRUCTION mark thus (XX) on blank below, opposite the points MOST IMPORTANT in your case and mark thus (X) opposite those which also interest you. If there are any particulars in regard to your case which you feel I should know, write about them fully and I will frankly tell you, without charge, what I can do for you.

Dept. 8.

Too Thin
Round shouldered
Superfluous flesh
Prominent hips
Protruding abdomen
Height
Weight
Do you stand correctly
Thin chest
Thin bust
Thin neck
Complexion
Do you walk gracefully
Weakness
Lame back
Dullness
Irritable
Nerves
Headaches
Catarrh
Dizziness
Indigestion
Constipation
Liver
Kidneys
Lungs
Heart
Throat
Colds
Rheumatism
Circulation
Blood
Is your health or figure imperfect in any way not mentioned here?
Occupation?
What is your age?
Married or single?

Address _____

Name _____

Fill out, cut off and mail this blank—NOW!

NOTE.—Miss Cocroft, as President of Physical Culture Extension Work in America, needs no further introduction.

ALLEN'S FOOT-EASE

"In a pinch, use Allen's Foot-Ease."

Shake Into Your Shoes

Allen's Foot-Ease, **a powder for the feet.** It cures painful, swollen, smarting, nervous feet, and instantly takes the sting out of corns and bunions. **It's the greatest comfort discovery of the age.** Allen's Foot-Ease makes tight-fitting or new shoes feel easy. It is a certain cure for ingrowing nails, sweating, callous and hot, tired, aching feet. We have over 30,000 testimonials. **TRY IT TO-DAY.** Sold by all Druggists and Shoe Stores, 25c. **Do not accept any substitute.** Sent by mail for 25c. in stamps.

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HOLMES' TRADE FROSTILLA FRAGRANT
CHAPPED HANDS CURES CHAFING &c. MARK

It will toughen the skin and prevent bleeding after a close shave, and keep it in perfect condition, in cold or hot weather. Bay Rum and Witch-hazel are not good for the face. Use nothing but plain water and FROSTILLA.

IT WILL KEEP YOUR FACE SMOOTH AND SOFT AS VELVET

It should be in your bathroom and at the barber shop. Sold everywhere. If you fail to find it, send 25 cents for trial bottle to

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Solid as a rock

Capital and Surplus - - $2,850,000
Resources - - - - - $28,000,000
Fifty-four thousand depositors.

Pays 4 per cent

interest on saving deposits. Send for booklet "G" which gives important information about Cleveland as a commercial center and our system of BANKING BY MAIL.

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The value of securities really depends upon the earning power behind them. From cereal crops alone North Dakota earned in 1904 46% annual income **upon the entire assessed valuation of the State,** leading all agricultural States.

NORTH DAKOTA	**46%**	**Illinois . .**	**21%**
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North Dakota farm mortgages placed on the land that secures this remarkable result are among our securities. *Write for particulars.*

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Lenten classes now forming in all branches of Embroidery. Italian cut-work a specialty.

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IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS acted as Shakespeare wrote them, in a setting representing an old English Hall or Theatre. Also in Open Air Plays, beginning May 20th at Washington. Colleges and Clubs desiring to book this attractive combination kindly address BEN GREET, care of Walter Jordan, Empire Theatre, N. Y.

2 A

No Capital Needed

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The temptation before young men is constantly to sink themselves in salaried positions. They grow old but not independent. They settle down as the servants of corporations and the men of other men.

We earnestly wish we could place before you and every other man or woman, young or old, above the average, the advantages of representing THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL and THE SATURDAY EVENING POST.

Many a man invests his capital and loses it. You cannot lose the capital we furnish you if you are earnest, honest, and industrious.

Why not secure a capital start without capital and make more money than many a small merchant with less effort and no risks whatever? Write us about it.

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Dust, Dirt and Germs

are best removed from floors by first sweeping with a cloth-covered broom moistened with water containing just a little

Platt's Chlorides,

The Odorless Disinfectant.

A colorless liquid; powerful, safe and economical. Instantly destroys foul odors and disease-breeding matter. Specially prepared for household use. Sold only in quart bottles, by druggists everywhere.

An illustrated booklet with valuable sanitary information mailed free. Address

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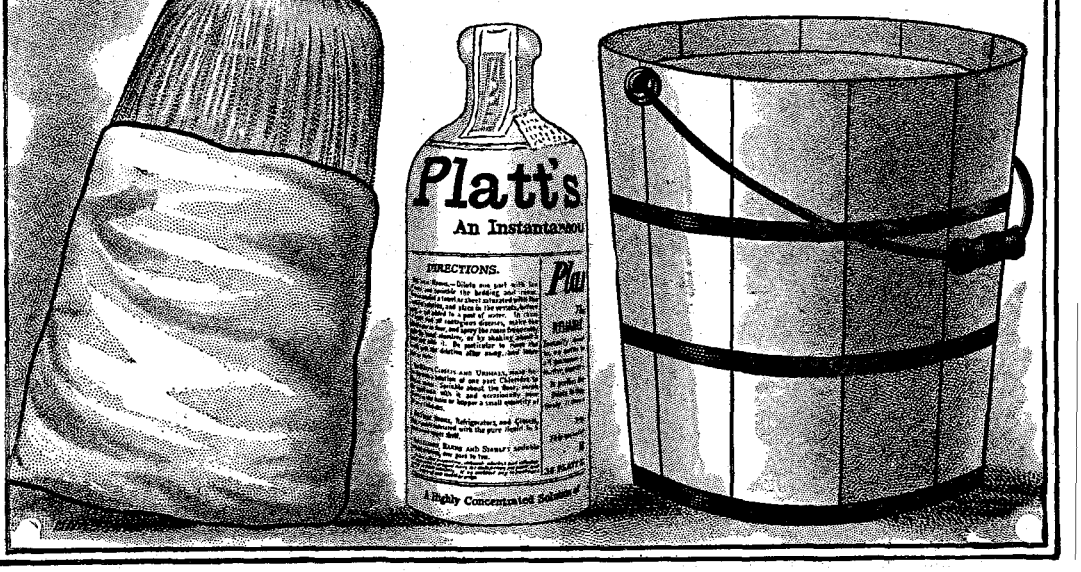

Dusty or damp corners and cracks—nooks behind plumbing and all spots that can't be reached by the scrubbing-brush, should be freely sprinkled with a mixture of one (1) part Platt's Chlorides and ten (10) parts of water, by means of a whisk-broom.

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